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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE NEGRO A, B, C POLICY.

From The New York Express.

WE are glad, if under Gen. Hunter cotton and cabbage culture be the order of the day, that under Gen. Burnside and Edwin Stanley, as Civil Governor, the negro A, B, C culture of Gen. Hunter is not to be transferred to North Carolina—but the more serious work of the pacification of the State is to be the main work.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher preached, Sunday night, against Edward Stanley and this act.

"If," said Mr. Beecher, "the government at Washington sanctions that decision of Gov. Stanley, the people have been deceived. He did not believe, however, that the Governor, in this respect, would be sustained. If the people of North Carolina had elected a Governor, then there might be some excuse for enforcing this law; but if the government had the right and the power to force upon the people of that State a Governor, that government had equally a right to order that the law referred to should not be enforced, and he believed it would be done."

The Times groans, too, over Gov. Stanley's action, and urges a repeal of his orders—that is, the effort on his part to govern the State, in spite of the people of the State, or, if you please, their prejudices, or passions, respecting the negro.

The facts of history on this topic are, that twenty or twenty-five years ago, prior to the existence of Abolition societies North, and the propagandism of their incendiarism South, negroes, especially house servants, were taught by their own masters and mistresses to read. When Abolitionists began to send *reading* negroes abolition tracts, teaching murder, arson, robbery, etc., and calling their masters manthieves, robbers, etc., *then*, but not till then, the negroes were refused this reading, because reading educated them to execute the work of Northern abolition fiends. Their own safety made this indispensable. Such tracts in the hands of negroes were sure to lead to an indiscriminate murder of men, women and children upon the plantations, as in Hayti and elsewhere. Thus the Abolitionists themselves were the cause of this restriction, and forced it upon the masters. *We saw, prior to the outbreak of the civil war, Abolition imprints underlaid in the false leather lining of negro brogans, sold to Alabama, educating the negro, by the eye alone, to murder his master, by knocking him down or running pikes, or pitchforks through him.* It could not be expected that a whole people, among whom were sent such horrible imprints, would longer be favorable to teaching negroes reading or writing.

We foresee, however, that a great effort will be made upon President Lincoln to make him recall the principles upon which Gov. Stanley accepts the government of North Carolina; and, from the weakness the President often exhibits, under such pressure (as much, almost as Buchanan showed, the other way, to Floyd, Thompson and Cobb), it is not at all certain that the Sumners, Wilsons and Wades will not go to the White House and "bully" down the President's good common sense. Now, Gov. Stanley, born in and of North Carolina, and having in his ancestry a deep root in the soil, knows how to restore the State to the Union—and, if left to himself, without Washington interference, will be worth thirty thousand men to Burnside's army, in the process of restoration. Whatever he may, as a moralist or sentimentalist, think, in the abstract, of these Colyer negro schools—as a statesman, he feels and knows, the true way to govern a people, is not to shock their prejudices, or their passions, if you please—but to appease and quiet them, as far as possible and legal—and hence, in order to restore North Carolina to the Union, he proposes to abide by the municipal and local regulations and statutes of the States. *The Times*, the Beechers & Co., here in New York, afar from the scenes of trouble and action, would govern a distant State by their New York "sentimentality," while Gov. Stanley, on the spot, sees, feels and knows, what is the best sort of government for the people over whom he is placed. The *Times* and the Beecher idea would raise up in North Carolina guerrilla wars, which might last twenty years. Gov. Stanley, if left to himself, will probably restore the State to the Union within one hundred days—and peacefully too.

THE END OF SLAVERY.

From The Journal of Commerce.

IT is a very common remark in these times that, whether emancipation be adopted as the policy of the war or not, "slavery has received its death blow" by the war. We have grave doubts of the truth of the prophecy. It is impossible to foresee what is in the future of our nation, but nothing in the present justifies the belief that the war will give slavery any such blow, or produce any immediate effect on the institution where it now exists. If the policy of declaring emancipation by general order, or proclaiming it from the presidential chair, had been adopted, or if it should hereafter be adopted by the dominant party at Washington, and forced on the nation, we are inclined to believe that it would result in riveting the chains of the slave for a thousand years, and rendering the introduction of free labor into the Southern States a total impossibility. It is easy to imagine a proclamation of freedom, and an advancing army compelling its adoption. But those who see this grand triumph of their anxious hopes in the future should look a little farther and study the probable fate of the freed slave, the conquered white, and the conquering army. No political future can be devised, after such a result, except despotism or a strict administration of law which would be equivalent to it. The millions of blacks would as certainly be reënslaved by the whites, whether Northern conquerors or Southern conquered men, as society resumed its laws, and the necessities of life and labor and the relations of the dependent and supporter, the serving and served, became necessary for the renovated social system. Even in this extreme case, we have no idea that a vast and extended system of slavery can be permanently removed from a nation, by a conquest and military occupation without destroying the nation. Armies are not apostles of liberty, and the result of a forced disruption of the bond between Southern slaves and their masters would be to prove the necessity of restoring the relation for the protection of both as well as for the best good of the conquerors.

That is a very easy philanthropy to practice which looks on men afar off and deals with relations between classes in distant countries. But if the millions of Southern blacks were thrown on our nation as paupers to be fed, clothed, and protected or furnished with means of providing for themselves, it is not improbable that nine-tenths of the advocates of emancipation would be at once devising systems of exclusion, or of compulsory labor, or other forms of slavery.

In whatever aspect the future is viewed, this black race is the subject of profound solicitude, and political economists and wise statesmen regard their sudden, or their gradual freedom, if they remain among us, as the worst possible future both for them and for the country. Within a quarter of a century after freeing them, the mere necessity of the case would have reduced them to slavery, for though we might call our new labor system by a new name it would be that and nothing else.

But has the war given a deathblow to slavery in any other way? There is to-day in the Northern mind a general desire that some plan of emancipation may be devised which will be agreeable to the South and result in the final extinction of slavery. There is undoubtedly in the minds of wise Southern men a sincere wish that some system could be devised as a substitute for this. But the moral effect of the war has been to increase the Southern attachment to the institution, and it is very much to be doubted whether it has not increased in Northern States a dislike to the race of blacks. The question recurring on the admission of the colored race to equal position with the whites, or even on their being allowed to enter the free States and settle there, a strong disposition to exclude them is everywhere manifested. It is plain that if to-day the people of the United States could give freedom to the entire negro race with the condition annexed that they should be free to overrun the country, nine-tenths of the people, ninety and nine hundredths of them would refuse the word of freedom. This disposition only shows what the inevitable future would be if the race were freed and left among us. Amalgamations will never be permitted, and the coexistence of two races in the same country, without amalgamation, is a political *status* the result of which history points out.

In considering the present state of the minds of anti-slavery men, it is important to draw a distinction between two feelings, hatred to slavery, and hatred to slaveholding. If the present sentiment of the North were a sincere indignation against slavery, then we might argue from it that some system would be devised for getting rid of the institution. But if, as is true, the Northern radicalism is but a bitter enmity to the slaveholder, and the enmity to the institution is carried on to destroy the upholders of it, then it is plain that no system is likely to be desired which will change the state of the slave, unless for the worse.

Any wholesale abolition of slavery in the South would of course be a destruction of the social system, and would probably result very soon in a war of races. It would be in effect the ruin of the country. Neither the people of America, nor the world are ready for the relapse into barbarism that would be the necessary result.

If we emerge from the war with a united country, and a Constitution unimpaired, there is reason to believe that a system will be sought out by good men for putting an end to slavery and removing the negro race; but the heavy debt of the nation, the necessities of Southern industry to recuperate the South, the demands of the North and of the world at large on the products of the South will then operate to strengthen the present system, and its final removal will have been postponed, rather than accelerated by the war.

Selections.

A VOICE FROM CATHOLIC FRANCE.

ADDRESS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF ORLEANS TO HIS CLERGY.

From The Evening Post, May 29.

WE have received by our latest foreign papers the circular of Archbishop Dupanloup of Orleans, France, in which he discusses the great political question of this country and age. It will be seen that he most candidly approves of the policy of President Lincoln's Admistration, and administers a severe rebuke to such Catholics as have allowed themselves to be ensnared by the followers of secession. We have made a translation of the document:

GENTLEMEN AND CO-WORKERS: You seldom allow the far-distant echoes of foreign politics to reach you. Your presbytery, which I so love to visit, is the resting-place of peace, of contemplation, of prayer and of charity. During Lent you do not dwell in your parsonage, all day you dwell in your church; holding yourselves, so to say, upright before men, and on your knees in the presence of God to preach and to pray, invoking for men the notice and pardon of God, beseeching men to think with you upon the death of Jesus Christ, and to unite with the sufferings of his cross the sufferings of their lives.

I do not come to withdraw your attention in the midst of your pious engagements—I come to beg for a prayer. Prayer! that is our politics; that is our great interest in the events of this world. To speak of God to men, and to speak of men to God, that is our mission. And, surely, it is no small matter, even in the order of earthly interests, so ardently contended about amongst men; for in it is God, who holds in his hands the hearts of peoples and rulers, and bends them as He will; it is He who now sorrowfully abandons them to their course, and now stops them on the verge of the precipice and draws them back, willing or unwilling, through his mercy; whether a lightning flash of what is happening comes to show at a glance the depths of sin into which they are precipitating themselves, or that a holier light endows them with true wisdom.

Be it as it may, gentlemen, the most unthinking know well that affairs do not move on here below without the powerful concurrence of circumstances, which they call the hits of chance and we call the direction and the act of God. They too often look upon them as blind men. More enlightened, we do not cease to raise to heaven a voice, trustful and peaceful, for the happiness, the progress and the future of the whole world.

We are heard praying for Syria and for Poland, for England and for Russia, for China and for Africa; for the victories of France, and for the victories of the Faith; for those who suffer, who weep, who hope; for those who groan and who pray with us, and also as well for those who do not pray, who do not groan, who close their eyes, who forget!

This day, Sabbath of the Passion, at this hour, when the standard of the cross is hoisted over all our temples, at the sight of this holy emblem of deliverance and of safety, I say to myself, My God died upon the cross for all mankind, and yet there are men who still are crucified. He died to deliver me from all bondage, and there are men—the noise which is now making about this great question painfully recalls to me—there are millions of men who are still in slavery!

Good Friday is approaching. That day, the Catholic Church, standing at the foot of the cross, with eyes fixed on those extended arms which embrace the world, will commend to our Lord, in sublime prayer, Christians, heretics, Jews, Pagans; and we will utter with her those noble words: "Let us pray God the Father, Omnipotent, that He may cleanse the world from all errors; may remove disease, open the prison doors, and break the chains in sunder!"

That is the pure spirit of the Gospel and of Jesus Christ. Is it not thus that the Divine Redeemer of mankind announced his mission to the world? "The Spirit of the Lord is bestowed on me," said he, "to teach the Gospel to the poor, to console those who weep, to cure the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and to those who are in bondage, liberty."

And, after the Divine Master, is it not St. Paul, one of his most fervent disciples, who shouted forth to the Pagan world the sublime outcry, "There exist no longer either masters or slaves, for we all are brothers in Jesus Christ." Well, even at this day, in Christian lands, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, after those words of Jesus Christ, after that cry of St. Paul, there still are slaves!

A PLEA FOR THE SLAVES.

Gentlemen, it is for this miserable and cruelly-oppressed portion of humanity that I come to ask your prayers. Yes, let us pray; let us pray for those poor slaves. And if I feel myself impelled, at this hour, to commend to you this sad and holy cause, and to beg your prayers, it is because of the holy season in which we are, and also of news recently received from distant countries, where this grave question is sorely agitated, and towards which the attention of all Europe is directed.

The truth is, that the old and the new continents are disturbed; politicians harangue for and against; trade is interrupted; blood flows in civil war. We, gentlemen, pray. In great social crises, in which we cannot remain indifferent lookers-on, it is prayer alone that becomes our great duty.

Do not suppose, sirs, that I may take part in the lamentable quarrel which divides the United States of America. I am told the North merits little more of sympathy than the South; that questions of commercial tariffs, or of political predominance, have had more influence than the question of slavery on the secession, out of which civil war has issued. I am assured that the Abolition party has rendered itself odious by its extravagances; while the slave-owners often are men of good faith and of good hearts. I am told of more Catholics at the South than at the North; and of citizens enlisted in both armies, animated by equal patriotism, who, on either side, sincerely believe they are acting justly.

THE PRESIDENT'S EMANCIPATION POLICY.

It is said, if the Union be reconstructed, the emancipation of the slaves is not certain, and if the separation becomes complete, that emancipation is not impossible. It is wished to persuade me that the interests of our manufacturers are with the South, of our commerce with the North; that we ought to desire the upholding and the union of a people whom we aided to set free, and which serves to counterpoise other nations, or, on the other side, that we should fear the aggrandizement of a people whose example and encroaching spirit menaces the world.

I don't know all that. But what I do know is, that there are still four million of slaves in the United States, two million in the rest of America, together six million of slaves in Christian countries, eighteen hundred years after the Crucifixion; what I do know is, that the horrors of civil war have been let loose by this fearful question, and that the peace of the world is threatened, and is already disturbed.

And what I am more happy to know is, that, by a recent and important act—a Message of the 8th of March, sent to Congress by the President of the United States, and adopted by a great majority—measures prudent, equitable, peaceful, have been proposed to put an end to slavery, and passed.

Compensation is proposed to all the States which agree to undertake in their territory the gradual abolition of slavery. No one can tell what will be the consequence of this proposition, because it depends on the response of the States. No one is under compulsion; a limit is assigned to the evil, and a vent is opened for it. For the first time in sixty years the Central government takes part and commits the whole nation to a vigorous effort against the evil.

Without being solved, the question is then seriously under consideration, the step has been made, a hope is opened. That makes another motive for me, and an inexpressible need to pray God that he may deign to bless an enterprise the pacific solution of which must be ardently desired.

THE PLAGUE-SPOT OF SLAVERY.

I understand the objections of those who plead for slavery; I do not desire to discuss them at length. Not that they do not tell me that the slaves are happy, and, besides, that established facts become lawful through duration of time. Slaves are happy. Yes, perhaps, under good masters; they eat, they sleep, have some hours of repose, perhaps even may be dissipated at pleasure; but have they the domestic hearth—have they the family—have they freedom? Poor disinterested ones of the human family, they have lost not only the right of primogeniture, but all rights, and because they are sometimes allowed a plate of lentils, proclamation is made that they are happy.

As for the doctrine of established facts, I have too often attacked it, in its applications to the temporalities of the Church, to accept its extension to its spiritual domain, which it most cherishes. Immortal souls! Ah! the Church knows the price of souls; and if she has sometimes made sacrifice of part of her rights, even the most incontestible, when the higher interest of her mission has not made it her duty to maintain them, it has been to reserve the right of saying to all the world, with all the ardor of her love: "Your souls, give me your souls, and keep the rest." *Da mihi animas, cætera tolli tibi.*

Nor let me be asked either to discuss the theoretic questions of slavery—let me not be reminded that all ancient social conditions have rested upon that—do not seek to demonstrate to me, by force of hypothesis that can never be realized, that slavery is not unlawful in itself, considered in a certain way, under certain conditions.

I let alone abstract theories, and I look at the facts. I look at the numbers of times those conditions have been met in history, and why, humanity being constituted such as it is, they might occur. I look not at the exceptional case, but at the state, the foundation even, of life and of human dignity, condemned by slavery to remediless abasement.

I do not trouble myself about abstractions and hypotheses. Certainly, I would have much to say upon the origin of this obstinate and protracted universal plague-spot. How did man reduce man to slavery? I defy its explanation to me unless by original sin. How did the slave again become the equal of his master? I defy its explanation unless through the Redemption. Slavery is so odious, that its beginning cannot be comprehended; and it is so convenient, that its ending cannot be comprehended.

If I touched upon the theory, I would show that the unity of the human family, which, with us, is not an opinion, but a dogma—let it be well understood, a dogma, and even one of the grounds of our faith, has become also a dogma of science—I would show that the unity of the human family, the principle of dignity, of equality, of freedom, of humanity, among mankind, condemns and rebukes slavery; and I would refer to the works of Blumenbach and of Tiedemann, of Humbolt and of Geoffrey St. Hilaire; I would call upon my learned brothers M. de Flourens and M. Quatresages, and the celebrated report of the Duke de Broglio on this great subject. I would refer also to the admirable work of Mr. Wallon upon the "Slavery of Antiquity," and to the great and liberal work of M. Augustin Cochin upon "Modern Slavery." Here are men and writers of other authority than those vain sophists who, alone, at this time, through hatred of Christ and his Church, attack, with all the efforts of science in desperation, this Christian dogma of the unity of our race. With our dogma must perish the dignity, the fraternity, the liberty of mankind. But let us pass from the theory.

I do not wish to answer anything that may be objected in favor of this sad cause. I do not wish to discuss doctrinal subtleties; but I ask that the truths of experience be not rejected. Because, it is shown by experience that slavery has never been the initiation and the training of liberty; the longer it endures the more it oppresses; the wider it extends the more it degrades; and never unravels itself by its sole action. You refuse to set slaves free, because, you say, they are incapable of liberty; and I tell you that this incapacity is kept alive by servitude, if not created by it, and that it causes the slave to stagnate under it.

It is also the teaching of experience that the slavery of the day—the slavery of blacks—has an origin, and a consequence equally detestable. Its origin was the treaty, the ignoble and cruel bargain, condemned by Pius IId in 1482, by Paul IIId in 1557, by Urban VIIIth in 1639, by Benedict XIVth in 1741, by Gregory XVIth in 1839. The consequence is the destruction of the family tie, condemned by the curses of every humane heart; the destruction of liberty, not only of the slave but of the master, for it goes the length of forbidding the master to teach the slave to read, and to write, in favor of liberty.

There are then on the same earth with myself, children of God, and children of men like myself, saved by the same blood that I am, destined to the same heaven that I am, five or six million of my fellow-beings, in the United States, in Brazil, in Cuba, in Surinam, who are slaves—aged people, vigorous men, women, young girls, children. Just Heaven! Is it not yet time, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, for us all to begin to practice the ever-enduring law, "Do not to another that which you would not he should do to you; and that which you would your brothers should do for you, do ye for them"? Is it not at length time that we should lend our ears to that great teaching of our Master, "Love ye one another; by this token shall ye be known as my disciples, if ye love one another"?

After eighteen centuries we repeat these expressions to slaves to calm their angry feelings, we shall do so again; but apparently this gives us the right to remind the masters of them in order to move them to do justice.

HUMAN LIBERTY DEAR TO THE CHURCH.

Since Jesus Christ, St. Paul, and the apostles laid down the principles of universal emancipation, the most illustrious preachers of the faith, the most distinguished bishops, the most enlightened of the pontiffs, have spoken in their order. Understand thoroughly, you who daily calumniate the Church, that if the Church rebukes the outbursts of licentious minds, human liberty is dear to it; for liberty, in the scheme of God, who has not created man an imbecile slave, liberty is the source from which issues every social virtue; the source of all moral greatness; of all civilization; of all progress; and the Church, true mother of human civilization, the Church which has built up modern social organizations, deplores all that injures or impedes the march of humanity, daughter of God, and blesses all that aids, improves, and elevates her. Behold the spirit of the Gospel, and the spirit of the Church! and the fascination of interest which alone explains the continuation in Christian lands of the plague which I deplore, cannot prevent me from reminding the world of the pure and true inspiration of Christianity.

We have the right also, we priests, to lift up our voices, and to complain of the part which in this matter is forced upon other priests. You, priests of my diocese who offer the Gospel to families formed by the Gospel, in the midst of a well-regulated and free social condition, on which Christianity daily spreads its benefits, you who unceasingly remind those who surround you of the sacred equality of duties, of rights, and of hopes, imagine the situation of the Catholic missionary between the masters and the slaves!

Suspected by the one class or suspected by the other, preaching to masters that justice which his interest counteracts; submission to those whose chains he should desire to break; attempting to elevate the purposes, the dignity of beings without liberty, abased in their own eyes, the preacher there fills a very sad mission. Ah! most truly, faith is good for all; I pity those, whoever they be, whose life tends to its decline without this light; with faith we can at least say to slaves, there is no condition which has not heaven for its end. Religion softens even the lot of the poor slave, by softening the heart of the master, but groans over a condition which keeps the man in a state of brutal abasement.

We are ready to preach to the condemned—to follow them on to the scaffold, to live among galley slaves, to evangelize the idiot, to dress the sores of the wounded and the sick, we are ready to console the slaves, we love them, and they love us, but we abhor slavery. I regard with admiration the bishops and the priests of countries where slavery exists, because I have confidence in them, in their courage, in their conscientiousness, in their worth, in the honor of their sacredotal character. They suffer, because they know, as I do, that our religion is the religion of the free man.

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

Let us, therefore, be allowed to pray. Pray, sirs, pray earnestly, that a pacific solution of the lamentable problem of slavery may be devised, matured, consummated. I am not ignorant that this work is at once less advanced, and still more difficult than it seems. Those masters, they should be indemnified; those slaves, they must be civilized. I acknowledge, among the masters (God save me from blaming them too much!), many act in good faith; many are humane; they have not made the situation; they regret it; they deserve to be indemnified, and now that is proposed to them. Those slaves, when they shall be freed, their social organization will be a question, and slavery is in no wise prepared for that; but the priests of Christ Jesus—and all Christians, men of good hearts will occupy themselves with that. In a word, I know the difficulties, but they are exaggerated—we forget that interests, mutual wants, produce among men relations, ties, needful agreement; but difficulties exist nevertheless, and are serious. But it is exactly because the work is not plain, and is not easy of accomplishment, that we must pray that it may be simplified and may be achieved.

My reverend brethren, the bishops of the province of Bordeaux, assembled in council at La Rochelle in 1853, with the new bishops of the colonies, three years after the emancipation of the slaves in the French possessions, pronounced this solemn declaration, approved by the Holy See:

"The Catholic Church has ever deplored the cruel slavery in which a multitude of men are detained, to the great detriment of their souls, and has never ceased to labor to remedy so great a calamity."

I place under the protection of these noble words, and of so many other apostolic utterances, the ardent vow which I offer that this cruel slavery may cease at length throughout all Christian countries.

Alas! sirs, I know it, slaves are not the only oppressed among men. There are countries, even in Europe, there is an Ireland, a Poland, there is a Syria, where oppression takes a different form without being a smaller evil. My compassion for one does not exclude compassion for others. I do not understand those men who resign themselves to an evil from the embarrassment of choosing between the different reasons for indignation. No, do not let us take one mischief as the excuse for another mischief. Let us labor to destroy the one, then afterward the other. For me, I will never yield to anything that is evil in fact; I deplore all, and would I had power to remedy all; and if my life be long enough, with God's grace, I will consecrate it wholly to contributing my feeble efforts and labor to cause the disappearance, one by one, of the plagues which afflict the human race. If I could act, I would act. If I could speak, I would speak. If I can only pray—at least I will offer up my prayer to God. Here, sirs, you have the reason of my asking you to pray, especially for those in slavery.

In those touching universal prayers which you recite each day in the evening exercise, and in which the Church commends to God the traveller, the sick, the agonized, the afflicted of every kind, after the afflicted, commend in your hearts the slaves. I ask it of you, sirs—I ask it of all my diocesans. The moment seems propitious. Pray God to accomplish the work begun, and if your prayers are not heard to-day repeat them to-morrow, until at last they be accepted of Him whom we do not vainly call the most merciful—the God on high.

Accept, cherished co-workers, the fresh assurance of my deep and affectionate devotion to you in the Lord. † FELIX, Bishop of Orleans.

Orleans, Sunday of Passion Week, April 6th, 1862.

FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

OUTRAGEOUS CONDUCT OF GOV. STANLEY.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

NEWBERN, N. C., Saturday, May 31, 1862.

THE experiment of placating the old North State has commenced, under the rule of the new Governor. The first acts in the drama have the virtue of being intelligible, and pleasing at least to one class of people. As usual, in all attempts to soothe Southern wrath, the negro is thrown in as the offering.

CLOSING THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

The schools established by Mr. Colyer for the instruction of the colored people were suddenly closed on Wednesday evening. It was the first administrative act of the new Governor, since whose advent the military authority seems, to a great extent, suspended.

Hearing that this was to be done, I went early to the Methodist Church on Hancock street, where one of the colored schools is held. Very few had, as yet, arrived. Sitting at a side door I observed an old couple at least sixty years of age, each of whom held a little primer, in hand, into which they were intently peering, and by the aid of the dim twilight were endeavoring to master their first lesson in letters. Approaching them, I asked, "How do you get along with your book?" "O, master, we is trying right hard, but git on slow." "Don't you know how to read?" I asked. "No, but we wants to, master, very much; we wants to learn more dan we does to eat a good dinner when we is hungry; we want to learn so dat we can read the word of God," said the man.

In a few minutes the pupils began to come in. They came—young, old and middle-aged, male and female—and quietly took their seats, filling the body of the house, as well as the galleries, and numbering five or six hundred. In front of the altar were sixteen bright and wakeful little boys of from eight to twelve years, ranged on two benches, and confronting the lesson of the evening, which had been written upon a sheet in large letters, and hung over the pulpit:

"Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you."—Matt. 5th ch.

When all had become seated, Mr. Colyer gave out the Sabbath school hymn:

"Joyfully, joyfully, onward we move,"

which was sung with earnest pathos by the whole congregation.

During the prayer, when incidental reference was made to the closing of the school, a sob was heard in all parts of the house. That single sentence dashed all hopes and sent a pang to every heart. The Superintendent remarked that during the six weeks the schools had been opened, no disorder had occured, and not the slightest complaint had been made by the authorities. The schools had been uniformly closed before the hour of guard-mounting, though by this course they had been obliged to assemble at an inconvenient hour, leaving their work at the fortification and on the bridge frequently without their suppers, in order to be early at the school. They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon one work—the fort—and that no disturbance had occurred, not a fight had taken place among them. Meantime they had lived in most inconvenient places, generally kitchens and outbuildings in the town, crowded together in unhealthy and irritating circumstances.

"These schools," said the speaker, "are now to be closed, not by the officers of the army, under whose sanction they have been commenced, but by the necessity laid upon me by Gov. Stanley, who has informed me that it is a criminal offence, under the laws of North Carolina, to teach the blacks to read, which laws he has come from Washington with instructions to enforce."

The teacher said he hoped the schools would be closed only for a brief time, and exhorted them to submit patiently to the deprivation like good law-abiding people, such as they had always proved themselves to be. Those who followed the injunction before them, on the pulpit, and trusted in the Saviour, who had given the command, would not only have this blessing restored to them, but must, ultimately, enjoy even greater blessings than this.

The old people dropped their heads upon their breasts and wept in silence; the young looked at each other with mute surprise and grief at this sudden termination of their hopes. It was a sad and impressive spectacle. Mr. Colyer himself could hardly conceal his emotion. A few moments of silence followed, when, as if by one impulse, the whole audience rose and sang with mournful cadence, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," and then shook hands and parted.

The school at the Baptist Church, where the more advanced scholars were placed, was closed in a similar manner.

THE SCHOOL FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE CITIZENS.

Mr. Colyer continues the white school for poor children, as usual. This is right. It is better to educate a small part of the rising generation than to neglect the whole. The State raised, during the year 1860–61, for educational purposes, less than $100,000. The sum expended in *powder* during the same period is not stated. Gens. Burnside and Reno visited the schools for the whites, and were received by over fifty children—some very pretty—with boquets of flowers. These were presented to the General, who expressed himself greatly pleased.

SENDING BACK THE SLAVES.

Yesterday the Governor was waited upon by large numbers of the residents, in and out of town, who congratulated him upon the auspicious beginning of his administration. Among others, several persons applied for the restoration of their fugitive property who have sought protection from the tyranny of the plantation within our lines. One Nicholas Bray, living a few miles from town on the Falmouth road, obtained an order to carry off two slave-women. With his wife he proceeded to an old school building where one of them was lying sick abed, he dragged her forth and drove away with her to the plantation. Her sister, a bright mulatto young woman of unusual attractions, hearing of the proceedings, was made almost frantic, and sought asylum at the only place she knew—the headquarters of the poor. Elated at his success, Bray drove up and without ceremony began a search of the premises. Mr. Colyer, at the time was away. Apprised of his coming, Harriet flew with lightning speed, and concealed herself in an out-building almost under the eaves of Gen. Burnside's headquarters. Not finding the object of his search, Bray drove off, probably to renew the search at a more convenient season. Harriet is only about seventeen years of age, and Bray asserts *that he has been offered fifteen hundred dollars for her.*

Bray is a brother-in-law of A. G. Eubank, the Quartermaster of the rebel militia, lately at this place. He is a well known rebel; was mustered into the service, it is said, and only escaped taking part in the battle of Newbern on account of some alleged injury to his back. He *promised* to take the oath of allegiance.

Several other orders were given for the capture and taking away of slaves from the town. Four were reported to have been captured and carried out of our lines yesterday.

FLIGHT OF THE NEGROES.

Frightened at this turn of affairs, a number of the slaves who had congregated in the town have scattered like a flock of frightened birds. Some have taken to the swamps, and others have concealed themselves in out-of-the-way places. A pefect panic prevails among them. The greater part who were employed on the fortifications are so much alarmed at the prospect of being returned to their enraged masters, and being punished, that they are of little use as laborers.

It is believed that many will find their way to the rebel lines, and, in order to make friends with them, will reveal important facts touching the condition of affairs in this department. The slaves express the greatest horror at the prospect of being sent back to their old homes, and say that they will be unmercifully "cut up" for having absconded. One old man of sixty told me to-day that he would rather be placed before a cannon and blown to pieces than go back. Multitudes say they would rather die.

FEELING AMONG THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

The new administration has fallen upon the officers and soldiers in this place like a wet blanket. Prominent officers, from Colonels and Quartermasters down to the humblest soldiers in the ranks, speak in terms of the most vehement indignation of the course which the new Governor is pursuing, and I have not met an individual, either officer or soldier, and I have seen a large number, who does not condemn, in the plainest language, the course which has been adopted.

Nevertheless, no whisper of disloyalty to the government has or will be uttered or tolerated in any quarter. Massachusetts, as well as New York troops, it is assumed, will conquer their prejudices and execute the behests of the government, believing that patriotic motives inspire whatever measures are adopted for the putting down of the slaveholding rebellion.

It would be a dereliction of duty on my part, however, to conceal, at the present time, the state of feeling which prevails, and to predict that military force will, before long, be required to assist in compelling the return of fugitive slaves to their claimants.

I have carefully watched in every quarter for the uprising of the Union sentiment in this State, but, unlike the reporters of *The Tribune*, have failed to see it. Hence, I have refrained from misleading the public on that subject. For the correctness of my reports, in this respect, *I appeal with confidence to every officer and soldier in the department.*

ACT THIRD—THE "CRISIS"—MR. H. H. HELPER EXPATRIATED.

The following correspondence explains itself:

Mr. Helper, like Gov. Stanley, is a native of this State, and belongs in Rowan County. As his letter states, he has been employed in the army, and also in other important positions of the government service. He is a brother of Hinton Helper, author of "The Impending Crisis."

NEWBERN, N. C., May 30, 1862.

To His Excellency Gov. Stanley:

DEAR SIR: I wish you to believe me when I tell you that what I say to you to-day is said in a spirit of love and kindness—they are only the words of one man, a son of the State, who heartily desires to become again a permanent citizen.

I enlisted in the service a private soldier for the purpose of fighting down the slaveholders' rebellion, and was mustered out of said service on the first of February last, on my own application, to join this division of the army, in either a military or civil capacity, in the hope that I might be more useful in my native State than elsewhere. This course was by some thought to be impolitic.

I have awaited your arrival with no little impatience, under the expectation that a new era was to be inaugurated by your administration, which would favor my long-cherished hopes of again settling on my native soil, and becoming useful. Without any means of knowing the policy to be adopted by you, upon your arrival, the recent acts of the General government have led me to expect that you *might* try the effect of an earnest appeal to the people to listen to the gracious offer of the President in his late proclamation, and seek deliverance from the incubus of slavery, which weighs so heavily upon its industry—an appeal which, backed by the high reputation which you have enjoyed in the State for moderation and patriotism, could hardly fail to make an impression upon the people, even in the midst of the wild tumults of war. It had occurred to me, that while you, possibly, thus held out the olive branch to the *few large slave-owners* in the State, whose interest or convenience might temporarily suffer by the change, I might possibly make myself useful among that larger class of non-slaveholding citizens, who have no direct interest in perpetuating the system, and who, I have reason to believe, would be brought, by judicious management, soon to acquiesce in the paternal policy of the President.

Thus much I will reveal to you of my feelings and hopes.

I have had no good opportunity, since you came, to learn what course you proposed to pursue; but your first act, closing the schools which have been established for the instruction of the negroes, has seemed to me to point in quite another direction from that which I had supposed you might pursue.

It strikes me that this is a bad beginning, whether viewed as a stroke of policy or of justice, and my object in this communication is to respectfully inquire—presuming it not to be improper for me to do so, since you observe that you would be glad to hear any suggestions I might offer—whether the course indicated by this first act is to be the line of policy to be adopted by you. If so I shall need no further light, and will prepare, as soon as practicable, to leave the State, satisfied, as I am, that I can render the State no service so acceptable to you and them.

I am, Governor, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

H. H. HELPER.

GOV. STANLEY'S ANSWER.

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL.
NEWBERN, N. C., Saturday, May 31, 1862.

H. H. HELPER, Esq.—*Sir:* I am instructed by His Excellency, the Military Governor of North Carolina, to inform you that he requires you to leave this department in the first vessel going North.

Capt. C. G. Loring, Jr., Assistant Quartermaster, will furnish you with the necessary order for transportation. I am, very respectfully, yours,

DAN MESSENGER, Provost-Marshal.

RETALIATION ON BRAY.

Last night, a party of men, distinguished with the letter "M" on their caps, proceeded to the house of Nicholas Bray, at a distance of two miles from town, and took out the slave woman who was yesterday carried away, and then barred the house. This morning, the wife of Bray appeared before the Governor, and made complaint of the facts, and asked again for her negro woman. The Governor calmly advised her to return home, without making any present effort to find her. At last accounts things look mixed.

Though Bray had disregarded the government advice, and armed with the power which had been previously given him, he was still searching the town for his slave.

VESSELS TO BE OVERHAULED.

I am informed that an order has been issued to search closely every steamer or vessel leaving this port, for the purpose of stopping any colored people who may be found on board with the design of getting away to the North. It is also intimated that the names of certain captains of vessels are on the list of suspicious persons who will be subject to arrest on their arrival here, on charges of carrying away black persons from the State.

Adams & Co.'s Express agents have been waited on and required to show their way-bills for some weeks back, and persons are to be sent to Massachusetts and other places in pursuit of stray *articles of vertu*, sewing machines, etc. E. S.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SCHOOLS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

THE telegraph announced on Monday that Military Governor Stanley had issued an order prohibiting further instruction in the schools at Newbern established for the benefit of the loyal colored refugees there. On Tuesday, in the Senate and House of Representatives, resolutions of inquiry were adopted, introduced by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Hickman, on this subject.

It was in February last that the expedition of Gen. Burnside and Com. Goldsborough won the victory at Roanoke, and took possession of Newbern and the neighboring country in North Carolina. When, it is said, "Burnside unfurled the Stars and Stripes in sight of Roanoke, he saw a little canoe paddling off to him which held a single black man; and in that contraband hand victory was brought to the United States of America, led by Burnside. He came to the General, and said: 'This is deep water, and that is shoal; this is swamp, that is firm land, and that is wood; there are four thousand men here, and one thousand there; a cannon here, a redoubt there.' The whole country was mapped out, as an engineer could not have done it in a month, in the memory of that man. And Burnside was loyal to humanity and believed him. The soldiers forded where the negro bade them, the vessels anchored where he bade them, and to-day he stands at the right hand of Burnside clad in uniform, with the pledge of the General that as long as he lives and has anything to eat the man that gave him Roanoke shall have half a loaf."

Soon afterward, Dr. Vincent Colyer of this city went down as a missonary to the contrabands in North Carolina, and proved himself so useful a person that Gen. Burnside appointed him Superintendent of the Poor, and thus he continued his labors in the double capacity of government officer and Church missionary and teacher. What he saw and did, and what he thought of those among whom he labored, will best appear from his own words, addressed last April to one of our most honored citizens: "All the negroes, as fast as they come within our lines from any direction, are immediately sent to me. Sometimes as many as sixty or a hundred will come in at once, occasionally at night. Some are fresh from the plantations, often ragged, hungry, and dirty from long travel through woods, marshes, and dusty roads. Many little children come with their mothers. All these have first to be fed; next shelter provided;

whose high intelligence and character every one must have been impressed with who attended its recent session in this city, has, if we mistake not, generally abstained from any severe expressions against slavery. But on Wednesday night it declared with unanimity that slavery was the origin of the rebellion, and that "a safe, solid and lasting peace cannot be expected short of its complete overthrow."

The General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church has just been in session in Cincinnati. That Church, most respectable in numbers, talent and character, is decidedly firm in its opposition to slavery. The Assembly at its last session adopted a series of resolutions drawn by the venerable Dr. Beman of Troy. One of them is in the following words:

"Resolved, That, in our opinion, this whole insurrectionary movement can be traced to one primordial root, and one only, African slavery, the love of it, and a determination to make it perpetual; and while we look upon this war as having one grand end in view, the restoration of the Union, by crushing out the last living and manifested fiber of rebellion, we hold that everything, the institution of slavery, if need be, must be made to bend to this great purpose, and while, under the influence of humanity and Christian benevolence, we may commiserate the condition of the ruined rebels, once in fraternity with ourselves, but now—should the case occur—despoiled of all that makes the world dear to them, we must be, at the same time, constrained to feel that the retribution has been self-inflicted, and must add—*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum.*"

Another resolution is so aptly worded that we copy it entire:

"Resolved, That while we have been utterly shocked at the deep depravity of the men who have framed and matured this rebellion, and who are now clad in arms, manifested in words and deeds, there is another class found in the loyal States who have excited a still deeper loathing; some in Congress, some in high civil life, and some in the ordinary walks of business, who never utter a manly thought or opinion in favor of the government, but they follow it, by way of comment, by two or three smooth apologies for Southern insurrectionists, presenting the difference between an open and avowed enemy in the field, and a secret and invidious foe in the bosom of our own family."

But in the Old School Presbyterian Assembly, which has just been sitting at Columbus, Ohio, we have the most remarkable change. This body is one of the few great religious organizations which had not before the war been separated into a Northern and a Southern division by avowed differences of opinion on the slavery question. So late as a year ago, weeks after the war had begun, a very large number of the members stoutly opposed a resolution introduced by Dr. Spring, declaring it to be the duty of Churches "to uphold the Federal government in the great exercise of its functions under our noble Constitution." They feared that it would cause troublesome discussions. But this year a paper presented by that veteran patriot, Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, has been adopted, in spite of opposition from some of the Border State members, by a vote of 199 to 20. Among its declarations is this:

"The system that makes or proposes to make the relation of master and slave hereditary, perpetual and absolute must be wrong, as it is a negation of the principles and precepts of the Gospel and of the very idea of civil liberty and inalienable rights."

It says that there is now "an almost superhuman effort in the present rebellion to base the entire framework of government on the single principle of hereditary servitude," and that "the power and patronage of the General government have, to a great extent, been wielded in aiding and abetting this effort." It rebukes, in the Doctor's most emphatic language, all those who believe in the divinity of slavery and those who sympathize with the rebellion.

Now, facts like these cannot be ignored. They are tide-marks, showing how high the floods have risen. They indicate whither the current is tending. *The World*, in commenting on them, says:

"The plain truth is that it is fast becoming the universal conviction among all thoughtful people that the policy of our government has got to be *fundamentally* changed toward the "peculiar institution." Every man who is not blind is coming to see that slavery is the cause of this war, and that stable peace is an impossible thing unless slavery is thoroughly crippled and put in the way of final death. Against this conviction the "babblement" of old party hacks is as ineffectual as the drivel of idiots. It is taking possession of the souls of men, and constrains even the unwilling into new paths. The sternest conservatism is not proof against it, nor could be without inverting its own nature, for the policy thus dictated is the only policy that can preserve the country. Without it there must be incurable antagonism and inevitable ruin."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS?

ONE of the special devices of the concealed traitors at the North, who are withheld from open complicity with the rebellion only by bodily fear, is to darken counsel and confound judgment by incessant repetitions of the lie that the Abolitionists are alone to blame for the war, and that they are equally hostile to the Constitution and the Union with the worst of the rebels. *The Herald, Journal of Commerce, Express*, the Boston *Courier* and *Post*, and hordes of malignant sympathizers with treason of the same type, are incessant in bawling out these slanders and endeavoring to divert the indignation of the nation from its worst enemies to its best friends. Of course, all these railing accusations are made in the interest of the rebellion, and the fact that those that make them wear the mask of loyalty, and are loud in their professions of hatred of the rebel leaders, only makes them the more dangerous to the nation, as a spy and an assassin is more mischievous as well as more despicable than an enlisted soldier openly arrayed against it. Although these calumnies are ostensibly aimed at the Abolitionists only, they are meant to glance aside at all Republicans who hold fast to the anti-slavery ideas which alone have given origin and power to their movement. But these we may leave to take care of themselves, and they are, to do them justice, quite swift enough to disclaim any alliance or affinity with us. Let us see what ground there is for these charges against what Dr. Channing used to call "the technical Abolitionists."

How, and in what degree are they responsible for the existing civil war? Precisely in the way, and in the measure, that Luther, and Melancthon, and the Reformers who exposed and denounced with them the corruptions of the Court of Rome, were responsible for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Thirty Years War, and the *dragonnades* of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Abolitionists have compelled the attention of the nation to the horrors and villanies of American slavery, to the extent to which the North was a party to these enormities by its support and countenance of them in State and Church, and have preached repentance and reformation as the only way of escape from the very evils which have now overtaken it. They have demonstrated the right of the slave to his own body and soul, the crime of the master in denying it to him, and the duty of the free States to withdraw the help by means of which alone it could be committed. And they have shown by arguments drawn from the nature of things, from the constitution of man and from the facts of history, that the justice they invoked was the way of safety, of peace, of prosperity, of civilization, of religion. They never counselled even the slaves to exercise their natural right of insurrection, but exhorted them to patience and long-suffering as the surest exodus from their captivity. Of course, they never contemplated a civil war as a means of the forcible emancipation of the slaves. It is true, no doubt, that the influence of the truths they have been preaching for thirty years has hastened the outbreak of the rebellion, which was inevitable from the moment that slavery was made an integral part of our institutions, by the effect those truths have had in modifying ecclesiastical and political action. But the collision between the two hostile principles of Free and Slave Labor must have come had Garrison never lived, by the operation of the eternal laws of opposites, as the insurrection against Rome must have happened sooner or later had Luther been strangled in his cradle. The labors of the Abolitionists have been well repaid by the general intelligence they have spread abroad in the nation as to the essential character of slavery, its necessary incidents and tendencies, and the necessity of its nature to rule the Republic or to trample its life out under its feet. Had their counsels been listened to and what they advised been done, civil war would have been an impossibility, all sections of the country would have breathed one spirit of peace and friendship, free labor would not only have made the blacks at the South contented and happy, but would have vastly increased the wealth as well as the safety and civilization of the whites, and the United States would have stood at the head of the Powers of the Earth.

And what ground is there for charging the Abolitionists with disloyalty to the Constitution and the Union? Our anti-slavery lives have been in the presence of all our brethren. The American Anti-Slavery Society is no Secret Society, no Order of Knights of the Golden Circle. Our doings and sayings are done and said before all the world, our doctrines and plans are printed where all may see for themselves what they are. We appeal to the law and to the testimony to acquit us of any treasonable word or work—to the law which the nation has made, and to the testimony we have furnished, ourselves. While, as Abolitionists, we have accepted as our first public duty, in our individual and our organized capacity, to endeavor to procure the abolition of slavery, we have never endeavored to bring it about by any indirection of word or deed. We have construed the Constitution of the United States as the Supreme Court of the nation, as the Bench and Bar of all the several States, and as the general voice of the nation has interpreted it. Excellent persons have differed from us in this particular, and held that the Constitution contains no allusion to slavery, and that the power over it rests in Congress and may be exercised for its abolition. We have never taken this ground. Holding that slavery has certain constitutional guarantees, which those swearing to support the Constitution are bound to maintain, we have refused to take office ourselves, or to vote for others for offices, which could only be approached through taking this obligation. This is the extent of our practical disunionism. Does it bear any strong resemblance to that of Calhoun and Jefferson Davis? This, we have done, not as an anti-slavery measure, but as what was due to our own personal honor and individual self-respect. We could not take an oath to do actions which we esteemed immoral and dishonest, nor appoint others to do them for us, and thus we have voluntarily disfranchised ourselves rather than execute the requisitions of the Constitution. Had we taken office under this oath, and then used our power to abolish slavery in the States, believing all the while that we had no such constitutional power, our position would have been somewhat analogous to that of the Southern disunionists. And the scruple which has governed our own conduct has always controlled that which we asked of others. Never have the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the States, or to do anything contrary to their constitutional obligations. Believing that slavery exists only by the moral and physical support of the free States, we have petitioned our several States to take the proper constitutional steps to withdraw themselves from the Union—never to rebel against it, or to dissolve the Union by force of arms. What imaginable resemblance can be discerned between our position and that of the slaveholding insurgents?

Such, and thus strictly lawful, has been the conduct of the Abolitionists during the long years of their labor and their waiting. Now, by the action of the slaveholders themselves, the whole face of affairs is changed. They have plunged the nation into one of the most gigantic wars ever waged, and all that slavery may be confirmed and extended. Powers dormant during peace, in the Constitution, spring up armed at all points, at the trumpet-call of war. The life of the nation is more than the form of the raiment that clothes it. Self-preservation permits and demands the use of means which only that extremity can justify. Under the war powers of the Constitution it has been shown, by John Quincy Adams—and it is now all but universally admitted—that Congress, or the President, or any General in the field, may emancipate slaves as a military necessity. Is there anything treasonable in our urging the President, or Congress, or any one in authority, to perform a strictly constitutional act? This is the whole extent of our offending. The men who cry out upon us, for doing this, and who exclaim against any disturbance of slavery in the rebel States, show that, had they been in power, they would have surrendered the dearest rights of the nation to pacify the insolent clamors of the slave-drivers, or, failing of that, would have sacrificed the integrity of the national territory rather than maintain it by the constitutional destruction of slavery. Out of their own mouths they are convicted of treason, against the nation as well as against God and humanity. Happily, we are sure that the great body of the people at the North are not deceived by these malignants to believe a lie. They know that slavery is now within the gripe of the nation, and that permanent peace and prosperity can only be secured by its utter annihilation. They are now demanding it, and are hoping that the President will do his duty to the nation while it is yet time to save its life. But, whether he do or not, we are not doubtful as to what the answer of impartial contemporaries and posterity will be, when asked to render their verdict in these premises, as to Who are the traitors?

STEADY DECLINE OF SLAVERY.

MUCH as it is to be lamented that the Federal government still refuses to take direct and active measures against slavery, it is highly satisfactory to see the gradual decline of that wickedness, under the operation of Federal successes against the secessionists.

Next in degree to the enormous folly of South Carolina, Georgia and the Gulf States, in originating this war, has been the folly of the Border States in permitting themselves to be drawn into it. It was made plain as daylight in the manifestoes of the original seceders that they wanted an African slave trade, and that they did *not* want alliance with those Northern slave States which had become the rivals of Congo and Dahomey, and which kept up the price of slaves by breeding them instead of importing them. They expressed in the plainest terms the fact that they did not wish association with the Border States. Yet when, after the great disappointment of those original seceders in finding that Northern sympathizers with slavery did not sympathize with rebellion, they changed their programme in these particulars, disavowed the intent of a slave trade with Africa, and courted the alliance of the Border slaveholding States, the latter, with unspeakable futuity, walked into the trap, and suffered their towns and fields to be made the first battle-ground of the existing war. Fit retribution was it for the folly and guilt, the arrogance and baseness of Virginia, that her soil should be first ravaged, her towns first destroyed, her crops, annual and vigintial, first ruined, by the tramp of contending armies.

It has seemed strange to us that these Border States have come so slowly to the understanding that the Confederate cause must fall, and that their interest lay in immediate separation from it. But, to understand this delay, we should remember that the rebel leaders have proved themselves as accomplished in lying as in other parts of military strategy. They began by declaring that the North would speedily be reduced to great distress, that deprivation of cotton would soon become, to them, deprivation of subsistence, and that ferocious mobs would fill Northern cities with the cry—Bread or Blood! And they have steadily followed up this policy by declaring the existence of such distress and confusion in all the Northern States, and in representing every battle as a victory to their side and an overwhelming disaster to the North. Our Northern people, who as a matter of course know how to read, could not have been misled in that way; but in a region, a large proportion of whose white population do *not* know how to read, the rebel leaders had an advantage which they were not slow to use. And, in consequence, one of the most constant results of the advance of our armies has been intense astonishment of the Southern population among whom they went, at their numbers, their enthusiasm for the Union, their good supplies of food and clothing, of arms and ammunition, and various other indications of a prosperity and a confidence on their side, which had always been denied by the newspapers and bulletins of the rebellion.

The numerous and important successes of the Federal armies for several months past have of course produced a change of prospect and of feeling among more or fewer of the people of these Border States in regard to the result of the war, and to their interests in connection with it. And now we begin to see a change of expression also in regard to those matters. In Maryland, in Missouri, in North Carolina, appear strong indications, openly declared, of a disposition to save what they can from the wreck of slavery, thus acknowledging, as they have never before done, their conviction that it *is* hopelessly wrecked. It was well said by Wendell Phillips, in one of his speeches in the New England Anti-Slavery Convention recently held in Boston, that the Baltimore *American* has now come up to the very ground which Mr. Garrison occupied in Baltimore at the commencement of his movement in regard to slavery, when he was associated with Mr. Lundy, the advocate of gradual emancipation. *The American* now declares to its readers that prudence and self-defence require them to absolutely cut loose from all entangling alliances on the subject of slavery; that they *must* recognize the fact that circumstances beyond their control have, in a manner, isolated them from the other slave States upon that question; that Virginia, to-day, is no more to them upon that question than South Carolina; that, after what has occurred, the counsels, or views, or dictation of the former must be disregarded by them as absolutely as those of the latter; and that neither, in this case, has any more claim to their consideration than Texas or New Mexico. It speaks of the Southern States as "the accursed Confederacy," and declares it too late for longer postponement of the independent action of Maryland for self-preservation. This, of course, looks to an acceptance, by Maryland, of the President's proposition in regard to the "abolishment" of slavery.

Views substantially the same have been advocated in the State Convention which has for some time been in session at Raleigh, North Carolina. A proposition to tax slaves, after a spirited debate there, was carried by a decided majority. Hon. John A. Gilmer of Guilford County was an earnest advocate of this measure, and is reported to have said that he was not only willing that his slaves should be taxed heavily to liquidate the State debt, but that he would gladly emancipate them all if that would bring the State back into the Union. He added—This slavery question is the cause of this war, and we shall never have peace until a gradual emancipation measure is adopted.

Slavery in Delaware is of course doomed to speedy extinction, and indications like those above referred to are now seen, and may be expected rapidly to increase, in various of the Border States. This movement is only a question of time. When one State has openly entered upon the process of removal of slavery, either by the President's method or by any other, more will speedily follow. As the experiment of combined secession goes on to prove itself hopeless, the call of individual self preservation will sound louder and louder in the ears of each slave State; and it must grow plainer and plainer to many minds in all the Border States, that their wisdom will be to cut loose from the policy of Virginia, not less than from that of South Carolina.

There is one possibility yet remaining for a better solution of this slave question than events seem now to promise. For immediate interest and duty, of course the abolition of slavery is the great point to be considered. But a matter of scarcely inferior importance is the relation of amity or hostility, of friendly cooperation or contemptuous repulsion, yet to be offered by the white majority to the black minority, in each State in which emancipation shall be established or commenced. Even if the President should perform *his* duty in the premises, and fulfil his constitutional obligations to "establish justice" and "secure the blessings of liberty" by proclaiming immediate emancipation under the war power, still the future prosperity of each of the States in question would depend materially upon the help or hindrance given to that measure by the white population. If they shall choose, like the planters of Jamaica, to throw every obstruction in the way of the freedmen, to hold on to as much as possible of their former tyranny, and to repel that kindly and trustful disposition of the negro which prompts him readily to adapt himself to any new situation, they will of course experience difficulties like those which delayed the prosperity of Jamaica, and which gave rise to the calumny that emancipation there was a failure. If, on the other hand, they imitate that frank acquiescence in the new position, and that readiness to join with the freedmen in making the best of it, which were shown by the planters of Antigua, and which secured to them uninterrupted prosperity, from the emancipation in 1834 to the present day, they may immediately and rapidly rise, soon outgrowing both the recent impoverishment by war, and the evils and vices generated by slavery.

After this war shall have ceased, the Southern States will need laborers more than ever; and they will need, more than ever, that willing and hearty labor which does its work thoroughly, having a stake in its successful accomplishment. Are there no people in those States who can see the immense advantage of now making friends with the blacks? Why should they not be attracted to diligent labor, first by the offer of fair wages, and next by freely working with them, and giving them such social consideration and friendly encouragement as human beings deserve? Why should not those States rival each other in offering such good terms to a population accustomed to labor, and attached to that soil and climate, as not only to keep their present laborers, but to attract thither again the 25,000, more or less, who have formerly emigrated to Canada? Are there actually no white men left in the South of the class to which Mr. Helper's excellent book was addressed? men who, in proportion to their sense of the harm and mischief wrought by slavery, can see the advantage and prosperity likely to result from fraternal cooperation with the laboring class? Artisans, mechanics, men who have no wish to engage in the sort of labor which the slave has hitherto done, but who see the importance of creating, in that barbarous region, an honorable estimate of skilled labor, should know that this can best be accomplished by creating an honorable estimate of *all* useful labor. Let them encourage all classes, and all individuals, black and white, to do the labor for which each is best fitted, and let each class have its just consideration and its just recompense. Which among our Southern States has wit and common sense enough to follow the instructive example of British Antigua?

THE OLD PLEDGE.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

AMONG the resolutions of the late New England Anti-Slavery Convention, which you published last week, is one which was introduced by Wendell Phillips, and unanimously adopted by the Convention, to which I wish to invite the special attention of your readers. It is as follows:

"Resolved, That this Convention repeats its old pledge, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS,' no support of any government which upholds or allows slavery within its limits; and that we value this war solely because its results must be emancipation by order of the Federal government, or disunion which secures emancipation speedily."

There has been much regret and dissatisfaction expressed among the people during the progress of the present war that on the part of the Federal government there has been no well-defined, settled policy in its bearing towards slavery. Never before has there been an Administration so eulogized for asserted anti-slavery merits, nor one more severely criticized for unquestioned pro-slavery demerits. An uncertainty of feeling and diversity of opinion, similar to that among the masses, has existed among Abolitionists in reference to aiding and supporting the Federal government. At the time of the "great uprising," not a few hitherto conscientious, anti-slavery Disunionists became unconditional Unionists, and by enlistment, or otherwise, "patriotically" joined the Federal government in its endeavor to restore the Union "as it was." Others of the Abolitionists became *conditional* Unionists (as indeed they always had been)—the friends of the Union, provided liberty be made universal, recognizing in a state of war the right and duty vested in the President and Congress to entirely, unconditionally abolish slavery—authority, in such circumstances, contemplated in the Constitution. The Unionism of the latter has been the advocacy, timely and important, of a possible Union, upon the basis of universal freedom; but not yet in existence—of the former it has been the practical support of the Federal government by sword, vote, and purse, in its warfare against the rebellion. The Federal government meanwhile has continued thoroughly loyal to slavery, as in the past, in the States, wherever slaveholders have been loyal, and in many cases where they were well known to be disloyal. Such of the Abolitionists as had become unconditional Unionists—as for instance Mr. James N. Buffum, of Lynn, a prominent member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who stated in the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, his intention to support the government, that he would gladly cast his vote for Abraham Lincoln, would encourage young men to go to the war, and would go himself when needed—Abolitionists thus transformed, though with ever so good and unquestioned motives, stand to-day as abettors of slavery and slaveholders, against whom hitherto their own testimonies and labors have been directed.

Our pledge of "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS" has by no means as yet been cancelled by any change which has thus far occurred in the altered condition of national affairs. As a concise definition of the present position of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, essentially represented by the N. E. Convention, the resolution which I quote is highly important and opportune. It teaches the lesson of duty towards the government which the masses of the people now so greatly need to be taught; and will definitely correct an impression which has widely prevailed during the past year, especially in regard to Wendell Phillips, and to a considerable degree of the whole "Garrisonian" anti-slavery movement, that in the altered condition of national affairs we had abandoned our doctrine of Disunion as applied to slavery, and were now for Union, with an indiscriminate support of the Federal government.

The same unhappy, unhallowed influence which, under the old order of things, the seceded slave propagandists used to exert in the Union, the Border State slaveholders have since wielded in their professed loyalty.

May our old pledge be continually reiterated, and pressed home upon the consciences of the people until liberty shall be "proclaimed throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

AARON M. POWELL.

Ghent, N. Y., June 9, 1862.

THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

TENTH YEARLY MEETING AT LONGWOOD.

HAMORTON, Chester Co., Pa., May 8, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS held its Tenth Annual Convocation in the meeting-house at Longwood, in this vicinity, commencing on Thursday and closing on Saturday. It has been an occasion of deep interest not only to a large number of people in this immediate neighborhood, but to many from the adjacent regions, and some from other States. The meeting opened on Wednesday, at 10 a.m., during the prevalence of a severe rain storm, which made travelling uncomfortable and difficult; but the house notwithstanding, was well filled.

OLIVER JOHNSON, one of the Clerks, after a few preliminary remarks, referring to the very interesting circumstances in which the Society had assembled, read the call.

WILLIAM BARNARD implored the Divine presence and guidance, and THEODORE TILTON of New York read the Sixty-fifth Psalm.

The following Committees were appointed:

To settle with the Treasurer, and nominate Treasurer and Clerks for the ensuing year—Thomas Garrett, William Barnard, John Cox, Dinah Mendenhall, Henry M. Smith, Eliza Agnew. The Committee nominated for Clerks, OLIVER JOHNSON and JENNIE K. SMITH, and for Treasurer, ISAAC MENDENHALL; and they were appointed accordingly.

To Prepare Testimonies—Alfred H. Love, Theodore Tilton, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Mary F. Smith, Mary A. W. Johnson, Oliver Johnson, Thomas Garrett, John G. Jackson, Catharine Clement, William L. Chaffin, Thomas Worrall, Philena Heald, Amelia Jackson, William Barnard.

Much regret was felt on account of the absence of JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, who had served the Society as Clerk from its first organization, and to whose earnest and devoted labors its existence and prosperity are largely due. The following letter from him and from his beloved wife and venerated mother was received:

Near MOUNT PLEASANT, Henry Co., Iowa, Fifth mo. 20, 1862.

To the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends:

BELOVED COADJUTORS—On the occasion of the approaching Yearly Meeting mountains and rivers will intervene between us and you. These, however, will not obstruct the mental vision, nor prevent us from being with you in spirit and sharing the precious baptism which we pray may be felt to preserve the life of the association, giving it renewed strength for the moral and religious work it is called to perform. We are only more and more confirmed in our cherished faith, that it is good and precious for us to cultivate the religious spirit which depends upon the living God for counsel and direction in the duties we owe, as rational intelligences, to Him, and to the human family, with whom our interests are so intimately and indissolubly blended. It is not easy to frame into words the emotions which kindle in the soul when those who have labored and suffered together in a sacred cause are separated from one another. Our hearts beat with a love for you which words are too poor to express. We rejoice and give thanks in view of the momentum with which the wheels of progress move. The Lord be praised for all that has been secured for the oppressed slave.

"We live in deeds, not years—in thoughts, not words;
In feeling, not figures on a dial.
We count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels noblest, acts the best."

While many mourn on account of this bloody war, let us remember that, as a nation, we would not hearken to the voice of the Lord in proclaiming liberty to the captives; and now the nation must reap the fruit of its doings. The captives may sing their jubilee song only as they come through a sea of blood; but let us hope that the Lord will enable many who are now *conscientiously* engaged in this sanguinary conflict, and who are true to themselves therein, to rise to a higher ground and come nearer to Himself, where they may learn to wield the sword of the Spirit and comprehend more clearly the power of the love of Christ, which "taketh its kingdom by entreaty and keepeth it in lowliness of mind."

In the West there are many ready to receive the truth. Sectarian distinctions and shibboleths are giving place to a larger liberty of thought and action. We fervently desire that the good work may not be marred, but that, by a childlike trust in the Lord, and obedience to the pure principles of justice and truth, it may go bravely on. Be of good cheer, be humble and patient, and cultivate charity as a precious plant; and may grace, mercy and peace be with you all. In the bonds of gospel fellowship, we are your friends,

SARAH B. DUGDALE,
RUTH DUGDALE,
JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

Interesting letters were also received from Charles K. Whipple of Boston, Moncure D. Conway of Cincinnati, and Ana Eliza Lee Roby of Pleasant Lake, Indiana. I send you that of Mr. Conway.

To the Progressive Friends:

CINCINNATI, May 18, 1862.

DEAR FRIENDS—Your tenth anniversary rolls round, and yet the exigencies of my work prevent my accepting your invitation to participate in your communion, and your discussions.

I am very sorry, for it is so important that the friends of Justice should see eye to eye in this crisis. If, instead of having H. W. Beecher pulling Heaven knows whither, and James Russell Lowell tending Hell knows where, we had our sacred army which marches under the banner of Peace and her twin sister Goodwill to man, we should soon overpower both McClellan and Beauregard.

Men and Women! The time draws nigh, even if it has not already come, when the friends of Humanity must make a direct issue with the military arm in this war. The Union that requires the sword to obtain it is the very Union that needs to die; it must die, sword in hand, like old John Brown, in order that its soul may go marching on.

Are just and rational beings justified in sanctioning a war which cannot bring any but one of two results—military victory with moral defeat, or moral victory in exact proportion as we have military failure? We know that our power over the Fiend ceases as soon as resistance at the South ceases. Who then desires to have the Confederates conquered?

As I write, we are standing in Limbo between Gen. Hunter's proclamation and what the President will do with it. And all that I feel about it I have put into this note, which I have just written to the President:

"An earnest friend of the President's and of the country feels irresistibly moved to address him in the following words:

"The President cannot annul the order of Gen. Hunter without being pilloried in history as the man who re-enslaved nearly a million human beings, by law as free as the President himself; as much as if he had imported every one of them from Africa, and sold them in the Slave States.

To-night we hold in my church a meeting responding to Hunter, and celebrating emancipation in the District. If Hunter's edict is suffered to stand, the war will only last so long as it may be needed for retribution from the laws we have so persistently denied.

May the Good Spirit give to our rulers and Generals the common sense and common honesty which they so much need; and may your meeting be made one channel for its influences.

Yours, cordially,
MONCURE D. CONWAY.

The weather on the last two days was delightful, and the house was constantly crowded, while many were unable to gain admittance. The Society assembled at 10 a.m., and adjourned at half past 12, after which the people spent an hour in dining, pic nic fashion, under the trees on the adjoining grounds, and then assembled again for an afternoon session. The opportunity thus afforded for social intercourse and communion was a delightful feature of the meeting.

With the exception of a brief period spent in raising funds and in transacting other necessary business, nearly the whole time of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the one grand, absorbing theme of the hour, the Slaveholders' Rebellion, its Cause and Consequences, and the Duties of the Government and People in respect to the same. The subject was introduced, first, in the form of a Testimony, prepared by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and embodying the views and purposes which, in the judgment of the Committee appointed for the purpose, were worthy of adoption by the Society; and next in the form of a Memorial to the President of the United States, entreating him, for the salvation of the country, to exercise the power belonging to him in the present crisis, by proclaiming the freedom of every slave in the land.

The question was discussed in all its important bearings, by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON of Boston, THEODORE TILTON of New York, Rev. GEORGE GORDON, President of Iberia College (Ohio), Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, an eloquent colored man from Boston, Rev. WILLIAM M. CHAFFIN, Pastor of the Second Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, ALFRED H. LOVE, and others. Mr. Garrison spoke with characteristic earnestness and power, carrying conviction to every mind and impressing every conscience. Mr. TILTON'S addresses combined great clearness of statement with a power of logic and a wealth of illustration rarely exhibited by one of his years. His earnestness and eloquence won all hearts. Mr. Gordon's presence was a source of unfeigned gratification to the assembly, and the single address which he was able to deliver was heard with interest. All were glad to see and hear an old servant of the anti-slavery cause, who had endured a long imprisonment upon a charge of violating the provisions of the infamous Fugitive Slave law. Mr. Martin, to the great regret of the whole meeting, was only able to stay one day and make one speech, but that was quite sufficient to win for him the high esteem of all who heard him. It was much regretted also that Mr. Chaffin was obliged to depart at the close of the first day.

The Testimony on the Rebellion is as follows:

SLAVERY AND THE REBELLION.

IT was deemed expedient to omit the annual meeting of this Religious Society a year ago, in consequence of the extremely critical state of public affairs at that period, and the wide-spread and all-absorbing excitement resulting therefrom; hence, it is proper that we should improve the first opportunity to record our convictions and feelings concerning the present treasonable dismemberment of the American Union, the rebellious attitude of a large majority of the slave States, the responsibilities and duties of the National government in this trying hour under its constitutional provisions, the essential and radical cause of our national calamities, and the only sure method to restore peace, promote the general welfare, and preserve the unity of the republic.

1. We affirm, then, that the so-called Southern Confederacy finds no justification or apology for its existence in reason, conscience, expediency, or in any of the principles or doctrines set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It is the monstrous offspring of slaveholding despotism, and unbridled lust of power and dominion; of more than aristocratic contempt and hatred of free institutions and the Democratic theory of government; of a barbarous and fearfully degraded state of society, arising from the existence in the South of its unnatural, cruel, and most unrighteous system of chattel slavery. By the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, the slave oligarchy deemed, for the first time since the organization of the government, that they had lost, beyond recovery, in consequence of the irresistible growth of anti-slavery sentiment at the North, their controlling power over the administration of our national affairs; and, though still retaining a subservient majority in both Houses of Congress, and having the Supreme Court of the United States strongly committed to the security of their slaveholding interests, they lost no time in violently rending the Union asunder, making war upon the government, organizing a hostile confederacy based upon the principle of chattel servitude, and feloniously appropriating to themselves whatever national property was found within their domains, in the shape of custom-houses, post-offices, mints, arsenals, fortifications, and other means of revenue and defence. Previous to this, for a protracted period, they had so inflamed the minds of the ignorant Southern populace, as to lead to the infliction of the most shocking outrages upon the persons and property of multitudes of innocent Northern residents and sojourners among them, with no other provocation except that they were Northern men. Of the crimes and barbarities these conspirators have committed since they madly commenced the war—outraging all the claims of humanity and civilization—it is here needless to speak at length. They will make such a volume of horrors as can scarcely be paralleled by the most savage warfare in the darkest ages of the world. Scalping, poisoning, and assassinating the living—mangling the bodies of the dead—making the skulls of Northern soldiers into drinking-cups and their bones into ornaments for barbarous display—repeatedly and persistently hoisting the white flag of truce, only to betray and slaughter those to whom they thus professed to surrender—carrying desolation and woe everywhere in their train—these are but specimens of the almost numberless deeds of treachery and ferocity that have marked their bloody career.

2. Under these circumstances, we have no hesitancy in declaring that the government—measuring it by its constitutional obligations—had no alternative but to seek to suppress this treasonable outbreak by all the means and forces at its disposal, or else to betray the sacred trusts committed to it by the people; and, therefore, throughout this fearful struggle, it has had our sympathy, and desire for its success. For it has manifested no spirit of revenge, no wish to resort to extreme measures, if they could possibly be avoided; on the contrary, it has erred on the side of a timid and compromising policy, and in dealing with the rebels as misguided brethren rather than as enemies of mankind. Certainly, its forbearance, long-suffering, magnanimity, have had no parallel in governmental history.

In thus expressing our sympathy with the government, we do not conceive that we repudiate or invalidate even the most radical peace principles that may be cherished by any of our Society. We simply pronounce upon the conduct of the traitorous secessionists, in plain view of its unmitigated wickedness; we measure the government on its own plane of constitutional duty; and we judge the people by their acknowledged standard of political and moral obligations to themselves and their country. A war conducted upon peace principles is as paradoxical as a peace conducted upon war principles. The means must be adapted to the ends. Wooden frigates against iron-clad steamers are of no avail. A people who are false to themselves, and to their highest convictions, in a great trial-hour when mighty interests are at stake, cannot by cowardice or treachery aid the cause of peace, even though they shed no blood, or use no carnal weapons. By refusing to employ the army and navy against the rebellious South, through imbecility or a disposition to compromise, the government would assuredly hinder the progress of peace, and strengthen the hands of lawless violence. It was a more hopeful day for the cause of universal peace, as well as of universal freedom, when there was a simultaneous armed uprising of the entire North, after the capture of Fort Sumter, than before; for it indicated (whatever base alloy may have attended it) a resurrection of the spirit of freedom, of disinterested patriotism, of manly courage, of heroic self-sacrifice, where till then those sentiments had been paralyzed under the spell of Southern domination. "First pure, then peaceable"—this is the law of progress: "First the blade, then the ear, then the corn in the ear fully ripe"—this is the law of vegetable growth. From barbarism to despotism—from despotism to a limited monarchy—from a limited monarchy to a democratic representative government—this is the law of political development. Independently of all these, and beyond them all, is that government or kingdom "which cannot be shaken," whose officers are peace, whose exactors righteousness, whose walls salvation, and whose gates praise; within whose dominion violence shall no more be heard, wasting nor destruction within its borders, and whose people "shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land forever." But, as yet, alas! no such state of human perfectibility has been attained by any people. The complete redemption of the world from its transgressions and mistakes, its errors and follies, its lusts and passions, lies in the unlimited future. Slowly and painfully, step by step, is any real progress made.

History demonstrates that whether war comes as a judgment or a trial, God "causes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he restrains."

In the present case, the war is to be viewed both as a judgment and a trial. Though confined in its worst inflictions to the slaveholding section of the Union, its mournful effects are felt in every part of the North. Its fearfully accumulating load of taxation—its derangement of every branch of peaceful industry and the general business—its fierce sectional estrangement and hate—its legacy of crime and profligacy to children's children—its immense sacrifice of human life, carrying lamentation and woe into almost every household, like the wailing of the Egyptians at the loss of all their first-born—these are some of the vials of Divine retribution which are now poured out upon the whole land, for its grievous and unrelenting oppression of a guiltless and inoffensive race. As a nation, we have forged their fetters and made heavy their yokes; we have refused to proclaim liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; "therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear: THEREFORE IS THIS DISTRESS COME UPON US." Our Northern complicity with the South, in her "trade in slaves and the souls of men," has been from the organization of the government till now; and it is just that we should be called to suffer in proportion to our guilt. For the last thirty years, what has been left undone at the North, by religious fellowship and political affiliation with those who are now leagued in hot rebellion to overthrow all free institutions, by priestly defences of slaveholding or biblical extenuations of it, by constant compromise and yielding to the menaces and bribes of the Slave Power, by malicious defamation of the uncompromising friends of universal emancipation, and by mobocratic assaults upon the Anti-Slavery Movement, to stimulate the haughty and domineering slave oligarchy of the South to commit the very treason for which they are now so severely condemned, and so terribly punished? Why should they not have snpposed that their attempt to seize the government would surely prove successful? Judging from the past, what had they to fear of warlike resistance on the part of the North? Awful as is their guilt, it is not all theirs; for it is largely shared by the people of the free States, and hence it is that the whole land is made to mourn.

The cause of this bloody civil strife, therefore, being the enslavement of four million of the inhabitants of the land, there is but one sure method of bringing it to an end, and making at least partial atonement for our great iniquity. It is TO ABOLISH SLAVERY WITHOUT DELAY. In the present national exigency, the constitutional right and power of the government to perform this great act of justice and mercy, of righteousness and peace, seems to be beyond controversy. Never before, in the history of nations, has it been given to a government to wield the war power in so beneficent a manner, and on such a magnificent scale. To do so will be returning good for evil, blessing for cursing, brotherly kindness for murderous hate. It will end in universal reconciliation, by making the interests of all sections of the country homogeneous. All the consequences of the act will be glorious. "we take away from the midst of us the yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, then shall our light rise in obscurity, and our darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide us continually, and satisfy our soul in drought, and make fat our bones; and we shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of us shall build the old waste places; we shall raise up the foundations of many generations; and we shall be called, The repairers of the breach, The restorers of paths to dwell in

a close, appropriate farewell words were uttered by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, EUSEBIUS BARNARD and WILLIAM BARNARD. SAMUEL MARSHALL offered prayer. The hymn, "When shall we all meet again?" was sung, and the meeting closed with reading the following minute, prepared by the Clerks:

"The Meeting, having thus brought its business to a close, adjourns till another year. It is fitting to add to this record that the proceedings throughout have been of absorbing interest. The solemn trials of the nation, involving so many perils and hopes of Freedom, found earnest utterance from many lips; nor was the sacred cause of Peace neglected amid the din of war. A fine harmony pervaded all our discussions, and a high religious spirit animated and refreshed many hearts. The mutual greetings of multitudes of friends, to whom this Meeting furnishes an annual occasion for a re-baptism of friendship, were cordial and delightful. We now separate, bearing in our hearts an unfeigned interest in one another's welfare, and an humble and cheerful faith that our Heavenly Father will bring speedily out of these troublous times a beautiful triumph of Liberty and Peace."

The proceedings will be published shortly in pamphlet form.

Notice having been given at the close of the Yearly Meeting that Mr. Garrison, Mr. Tilton and others from a distance would attend the usual religious meeting on Sunday morning, the house at the time appointed was crowded to its utmost capacity. The occasion was one long to be remembered by all who were so fortunate as to be present. Oliver Johnson read an appropriate and touching petition to the Father and Mother of the whole human race from the volume of Theodore Parker's Prayers, lately published in Boston. The hymn, "When all thy mercies, O my God," was sung. Mr. Garrison read a portion of Scripture and made a very timely and earnest address. Theodore Tilton spoke of love as the grand medium through which God reveals himself to mankind, illustrating the subject in a very striking and impressive way.

The venerable Thomas Whitson expressed his exceeding gratification in view of the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, and exhorted all present to be faithful to the cause of the slave in labors to secure the needed proclamation of liberty by the government.

Mr. Garrison read the beautiful hymn, which Theodore Parker loved so well:

"Nearer, my God, to Thee,"

and it was sung by the friends above named and others.

The freedom of the platform maintained by this Religious Society found illustration on the occasion in a speech by a man whose name I do not recollect, but whose remarks showed that his spirit was not in harmony with the prevailing spirit and tone of the meeting. It was useful, if at all, as a trial of patience, which did not come far short of having "her perfect work."

The meeting concluded with a brief and simple prayer by Samuel Marshall, when the people took leave of one another with expressions of mutual good will.

OBSERVER.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1862.

THE Administration is in trouble again because it has lacked the courage to have a policy on the slavery question. Mr. Stanly was sent down to Newbern with certain instructions as a Military Governor, but with no allusions in them to the great question which would be likely to puzzle him most—that of slavery. Hunter was sent to Port Royal without a word respecting slavery in his instructions. Yet Mr. Lincoln says, "No matter what I do—I am troubled every day with the rash and unexpected acts of my officers!" The result is precisely what a rational man would expect from the policy pursued by the Administration. What is that policy? I state what I know to be the truth on this subject, when I say that the Administration goes upon the plan of permitting every General and every Military Governor to take his own position upon the question of slavery; and if he goes too far in either direction, then the government revokes and instructs on the single point decided by the act of the Governor or General. Halleck turned the fugitive slaves from his camp, and the government did not interfere. McDowell set them at work to build his bridges, and still there was no interference. But Hunter declared freedom—and he went too far, and the President interfered. Stanly broke up the colored schools and expatriated a loyal citizen, and he was requested to reconsider his action. You will see the policy, or rather the no-policy, of the Administration. It selects men without any regard to their sentiments on the slavery question, and endures their conduct till it is positively unendurable.

If Mr. Lincoln would adopt a settled policy, which he would firmly adhere to, he would be infinitely stronger than he is to-day before the people, even if his policy were a moderate one. The American people like frankness and boldness. A bold bad man always succeeds better with us than an irresolute, good man. If, some morning, in walking past the Presidential mansion, I should see a shingle out with the following, "Wanted—a Policy"—I should not be surprised. Or perhaps it would be as well to advertise in the "dear, old *Intelligencer*"—"A Policy wanted on the slavery question." Am I finding too much fault? Certainly I am grateful to Mr. Lincoln for so promptly ordering Gov. Stanly to revoke his order disbanding the contraband schools at Newbern. All anti-slavery and humane people are. But I am a little curious to see what will be done about the expulsion of Mr. Helper. As I understand it, the remonstrance sent from here to Gov. Stanly did not allude to that despotic act, for the good reason that when it was written the President had not heard of the expulsion of Helper. There were two or three members of the Cabinet, to say the least, who were very indignant when the news came to Washington of the high-handed conduct of Stanly. Mr. Stanton said he would not remain an hour in connection with a government which would justify such an outrage. Mr. Chase was very decided in his condemnation of Mr. Stanly, and it is hard to believe that any member of the Administration would justify it. There is no doubt that the effect of the transaction will be good upon the whole. Mr. Lincoln sees that the slipshod policy will not answer. He has said as much, I hear, and in future it is to be hoped that however it may be with the Generals of divisions, the Military Governors sent out to the rebellious States will receive more specific instructions, and that they will be in conformity with the spirit of the age and the laws of humanity.

The Republican members of Congress have some fear of the next Congressional elections. In the recent elections to fill vacancies, the Democrats have in every case triumphed. They argue, and perhaps correctly, that this is an indication of a very strong pro-slavery spirit among the people. This is true. The Administration has not been decided enough in defending the principles of the party which elected it to power, and the Democrats are making good use of the wicked prejudice against colored people which exists in nearly all the free States with prodigious strength. "Negro equality!" is the cry of the Democrats everywhere, and by it they mean to triumph.

Since writing the above respecting the Stanly imbroglio, I hear that there is a hitch in the arrangements for smoothing over the affair, and that it is still uncertain whether Gov. Stanly will be ordered to cease his interference with schools in North Carolina. The countermanding order *was written* by Mr. Stanton. Some of his intimate friends saw it. But a sudden change came over some one in the Administration, and it is now the understanding that the President hesitates to send the letter. There is one very significant circumstance. On Friday morning, after it was supposed the whole thing was settled, Mr. Sumner offered three resolutions in the Senate:

"Whereas Edward Stanley, assuming to act under a letter from the Secretary of War, calling him Military Governor of North Carolina, a post unknown to the Constitution and laws of the Union, has undertaken, by virtue of such military authority, to remand fugitive slaves contrary to the intent and meaning of an act of Congress recently adopted; also, to banish an American citizen in violation of personal rights secured by the Constitution; and also to close and suppress schools, maintained by the charity of good men, for the education of colored children, in defiance of every principle of morals and religion, and to the discredit of our national character: Therefore—

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cancel the letter of the Secretary of War under which Edward Stanley now assumes to act.

"Resolved, That any such letter assuming to create any person Military Governor of a State is without sanction in the Constitution and laws; and that its effect is to subordinate the civil to the military authority, contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and in derogation of the powers of Congress, which, when a State government falls into the hands of traitors, can be the only legitimate authority except martial law.

Now, these views, respecting the unconstitutionality of the apointment of Military Governors, are unquestionably held by a majority of both branches of Congress, but Mr. Sumner or any one else would not have pressed them, provided the appointees behaved themselves. But if the Administration is to plead the Constitution as a bar whenever any one proposes to touch slavery, and rides rough-shod over the same Constitution in a hundred other matters, and especially whenever it is desired to protect slavery, then it is fully time for Congress to express an opinion upon the subject.

There is much excitement, discussion, and anxiety on this subject here—in the Cabinet, out of the Cabinet, and indeed almost everywhere. The policy of the Administration is about to be settled on this slavery question—at least such is the prospect. It is rumored that if McClellan succeeds in taking Richmond, the President will then issue a proclamation which will give the country his views upon the rebellion, and slavery its cause. This may be an old woman's story, but my own opinion, founded upon many little facts which have recently come under my observation, is as follows: that the Administration, whenever the army succeeds in achieving one or two more striking victories, will offer pardon to the whole rebel South on condition of their laying down their arms, renewing their allegiance to the government, and abandoning the doctrine of the right of secession, and that the government will promise to abstain entirely from any interference with slavery in the States. But if the rebels still refuse to return, then, in that contingency, the President will threaten emancipation. Now, the rebels will themselves ensure the destruction of their institution. *They will refuse the offers of the President.* Mr. Seward, who is always so hopeful, honestly expects that the rebels will seize upon the first opportunity to get back into the Union. He will be terribly mistaken, and when he fully awakes to the actual condition of the Southern people, who knows but even Mr. Seward will advocate emancipation?

Events are making the result sure. The Union may possibly not be preserved, but slavery is very certain to perish. The rebels themselves may offer freedom to the slave population, and thus secure the independence of the Confederacy, or France and England may interfere on the condition that slavery shall be abolished.

You will have noticed that the N. Y. *Herald* and kindred prints have of late been attacking Mr. Chase. Heretofore they have said nothing against him, his conduct having been such that he is very popular with the people. But these pro slavery journals really have cause just now to open their guns upon the Secretary of the Treasury, for he has been working night and day for freedom. He is found always to be the firm friend of the slave—in the Cabinet as well as elsewhere. Now, there are Cabinet members who talk very smoothly to anti-slavery men when they meet them in the street, who take good care to side with "conservatism" when in Cabinet meeting. Mr. Chase is *not* one of these men.

Monday afternoon.—Mr. Lincoln has finally sent a letter (understood to be a private, unofficial letter) to Gov. Stanly, asking him to allow the contraband schools to go on, and suggesting that nothing be done under his administration that will offend the well-known sentiments of the people of the free States. Doubtless the President explained to his Governor, that he did not intend, in his formal letter of instructions, to advise him to carry out any of the obnoxious laws of North Carolina, especially in reference to slaves. The *mode* of settling this question is not the most satisfactory, but as the result is right, we will not complain. There was no such caution in the case of Hunter. The fact is our public men are still *afraid* of slaveholders, and *are not afraid* of anti-slavery men.

AVON.

South Carolina Correspondence.

EDISTO ISLAND, S. C., May 23, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: The regular and very welcome weekly visits of THE STANDARD remind me of a promise to give some occasional notes of the movement of the free labor cause in the South. THE STANDARD and kindred papers have not been well patronized in South Carolina. Timely heed of their warnings would have saved all the present difficulties. The pen of impartial history will record that the friends of slavery are alone responsible for the war; if the policy of the Abolitionists had been followed, such a war could not possibly have occurred.

But your readers will be more interested in local items than in general propositions.

In giving "the devil his due," which I believe in doing, I must say that the physical condition of the slaves on this island was better than in any other portion of the cotton-growing States. I found, to my great surprise, negro cabins containing two rooms, and occasionally a small window of from two to four panes of glass; these are luxuries which I assure you are rarely if ever enjoyed by the slaves of the interior of this State or of Georgia and Florida. Besides, the slaves were not overworked, as near as I can ascertain. Their tasks could generally be performed by the middle of the afternoon, allowing them the remainder of the day to themselves, in which to attend to raising pigs and chickens, and making or mending their garments. The rations allowed were scanty. Only a peck of corn per week to an adult was allowed. Recollect, that was all that was allowed by the owner; if any other articles of diet came to the table of the slave, they were furnished by himself. Clothing was not furnished ready made. Six yards of coarse cloth to the hand, was the allowance, and the slave must pay for the making up; a pair of shoes added made up the list of garments for the year. But they usually had a good Sunday suit, which they managed to provide by extra labor. But for the last two years they have not been furnished with the usual amount of cloth, and for about a year have had no opportunity to buy, so that many of them have but a single suit, and must remain out of sight while that is being washed. It is my opinion that not much time is lost in this way, as they are not afraid of a little dirt on their clothes. I must mention one exception. Last Saturday I inquired of a mother why her little daughter had not been at school that day; she replied that Saturday was washing-day, and her child having but one frock, had to stay at home to have it washed. These evils are being fast remedied by friends in the North, whose liberal donations of clothing are being distributed among the destitute.

The social and intellectual condition of the slaves here was not above that of savages generally. They have no surnames; a single name, as we have for oxen, is all the name a slave in the United States has. Sometimes, for convenience of distinguishing two or three of the same name on a plantation, the name of a former master is added. In organizing a school on one of the plantations, a few days ago, I found three boys named Abram; they had no other name, as they had not lived together on the same plantation in slavery. Now, what is to be done? I must see the mother, or both parents, and get them to adopt a family name, then I can enter the names of my three Abrams on the roll, so as to distinguish them. This must be done all through these islands. Some of the names I have met, in taking the census of some small islands, are Cuffee, Cudjo, Cash, June, July, Monday, Friday. To speak to or of a black man as Mr., or his wife as Mrs., would be at present very ridiculous. I have found a large number of blacks who had adopted a surname, but in no instance have I found that the name of the wife was changed for that of the husband. The wife of Cuffee Simmons gives her name not as Cindy Simmons, but as Cindy March, and so on. Not one in a thousand men can tell his age. Not one in a thousand parents knows the ages of his children. In asking men and women their ages, perhaps one in ten will say: "I reckon Ise 'bout tirty," or whatever his opinion may be. Before our troops came here, about one slave in a hundred knew the alphabet, and about one in a thousand could read in easy sentences. This state of things is being rapidly changed. Schools are started on the larger plantations, and the children are making fine progress. This matter of schools has been necessarily neglected by the superintendents who have all had more than they could properly attend to in looking after out-door matters on the plantations. I am supplying the place of Dr. B——, who is at the North; and I have occasion to visit the plantations almost daily, and must say that I wonder at the industry of the freedmen. White men would not work as well, with the same and no better inducements. It may not generally be known that no agreement has been made with the negroes to pay them for their labor. The agents have not been authorized by the government to do so. But, by way of encouragment, the Treasury Department has sent out money enough to pay one dollar an acre for all the cotton planted up to the 23d of April. This is divided among those who worked in cotton-planting—the carpenters, and others, getting none; but it is hoped that this small amount is only an instalment, and will be followed by larger sums. Last Wednesday, the 21st inst., the money was paid out, and it was a day long to be remembered on Edisto, as the first in which the negroes were practically recognized as owners of their own labor. On the Townsend estate, where I am now stopping, the amount divided was $110 00. Many a heart was made glad by this slight remuneration of a dollar or two for three months' work. I shall long remember the scene on the "Tom Mikell" place that day. The negroes were gathered in a crowd under a large old live oak tree, at noon, near the house, and the paymaster sat with his small trunk of money by his side, a pile of small bills on his knee, paying off the men and women, as the Superintendent standing near read over the names and the amounts due each, from the pay-roll. I thought the old oak, which had occasionally been an unwilling whipping-post, waved its branches livelier, in approbation of the scene below it, and in exultation over this symptom of returning justice to the black man. The advocates of immediate emancipation will be anxious to know if the negroes waste the money thus paid them. It gives me pleasure to assure the public that no such disposition has been manifested. The negroes on this island earned some money by picking cotton last winter; this was paid to them about the time the present superintendents arrived, so that they had a good opportunity to see what the negroes did with their money. In almost every instance they bought cloth for wearing apparel, flour, sugar or syrup. On one large plantation, the Townsend, the Superintendent informed me that there was only one call for tobacco, but that nearly all bought calico, cotton cloth, and soap. When these people have money paid to them as wages, the first thing they do will be to clothe themselves decently, which has never yet been done; then they will get mattresses and beds to sleep on, household furniture, groceries, etc., etc. They will save their money, or spend it about as judiciously as our soldiers do.

You will very naturally inquire how it happens that these blacks, reared in such ignorance, manifest so much frugality. As a partial reply, I would say, in the first place, that, though ignorant, they generally have good common sense; then, their artificial wants are less, their habits simpler. The first want of the slave is freedom, and that instantly and uncondition ally.

Yours, for the Right, J. M. HAWKS.

Proceedings of Congress.

TAXATION FOR SLAVES.

THE Senate, on the 5th, adopted, 19 against 16, an amendment proposed by Mr. Sumner to the tax bill, providing that every person claiming the service or labor of any person held as a slave, be taxed $2 on account of each and every person so claimed, but in no case shall any person so claimed be sold for said tax. On the next day, however, the question was reconsidered and the amendment rejected 22 to 18.

BLACK SOLDIERS.

In the House, on the 6th, Mr. Wickliffe of Ky. introduced a resolution requesting the Secretary of War to inform the House whether Gen. Hunter, in charge of the Department of South Carolina, has organized a regiment composed of blacks and fugitive slaves, and appointed a Colonel and other officers to command them; whether he was authorized to do so by the Department; whether he has been furnished with clothing and arms for such persons, and to report any order or correspondence between him and the Department. Adopted.

In the Senate, the same resolution was offered by Mr. Powell of Ky. and laid over under the rules.

MILITARY GOVERNORS OF STATES.

In the Senate, on the 6th, Mr. Sumner offered the following, which was objected to and laid over:

Whereas Edward Stanly, assuming to act under a letter from the Secretary of War, appointing him Military Governor of North Carolina, a post unknown to the Constitution and laws, has undertaken, by virtue of such military authority, to surrender fugitive slaves contrary to the intent and meaning of the act of Congress recently adopted; also, to banish an American citizen in violation of the personal right secured by the Constitution; also, to close schools maintained by the charity of good men for the education of colored children, in defiance of every principle of morals and religion, and degrading to our National character; therefore,

Resolved, That any such letter assuming to create any person Military Governor of any State is without sanction in the Constitution and laws, and that its effect is to subordinate the civil to the military authority; that it is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and is in derogation of the powers of Congress, which, where a State government falls into the hands of traitors can be the only authority except martial law.

Mr. Sumner also offered another resolution that such office of military governor is contrary to the Constitution and laws, destructive to the civil authority, and contrary to the spirit of our institutions. Laid over.

These resolves, says the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*, raise a question which will probably occupy much attention, and on which there is a division among the friends of the Administration in the Cabinet. Can the rebel districts be properly governed without the intervention of Congress, and is it expected to hold this extensive region, with all the population, merely by military power? Can it be safely abandoned to newly formed State organizations? It is known that Union men at the South think that their best protection will be in a government organized by Congress.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEMORIALS.

In the Senate, on Monday, Mr. Sumner offered a memorial from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, speaking of slavery as the cause of the rebellion, and asking for the emancipation of the slaves.

FREEDOM IN THE TERRITORIES.

The Senate, on Monday, passed, yeas 28, nays 10, the House bill prohibiting slavery in the Territories.

THE ARMY AND THE REBELS.

In the House, on Monday, Mr. Nixon of Connecticut (Rep.) offered a resolution that, in the judgment of the House, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy should instruct all of his officers commanding districts in the rebel States to issue a proclamation that the army of the Republic will be subsisted, as far as practicable, upon the property of all those in rebellion, and those who give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. The resolution was adopted by 83 against 39.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

In the House, on Monday, Mr. Julian of Indiana (Rep.) introduced a bill to repeal the Fugitive Slave law. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Julian then offered a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to report a bill for the repeal of that law. Mr. Holman of Indiana (Rep.) moved to lay the resolutions on the table. Motion carried by 68 against 51.

Mr. Colfax of Indiana (Rep.) offered a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to report a bill modifying the Fugitive Slave law, so as to require a jury trial in all cases where the person claimed denies under oath he is a slave, and also requiring any claimant under said act to prove he has been loyal to the government during the present rebellion. Mr. Wickliffe of Kentucky (Union) moved to lay the resolution on the table. Motion lost by 32 majority. The resolution was then passed by Yeas, 77; Nays, 43.

THE VOTE ON EMANCIPATION.

An examination of the Yeas and Nays in the House upon the several motions of Mr. Porter with respect to the Emancipation bill, shows that Mr. Delano of Massachusetts, while voting not to lay on the table the motion to reconsider, and voting to reconsider, voted against recommitting the bill, without which it was impossible to get Mr. Porter's substitute before the House. English of Connecticut, who did not vote on the motion to reconsider, voted against recommitting, but was balanced by Ancona of Pennsylvania, who voted not to reconsider, but is not recorded on the question of recommitment. The largest majority (twenty-one) was against laying the motion to reconsider on the table, Messrs. Fisher of Delaware and Casey of Kentucky swelling it, neither of whom voted to reconsider, and only one (Mr. Fisher) to recommit. The smallest majority (eighteen) was on the latter motion, Mr. Delano's defection being only partially balanced by Mr. Fisher's vote.

HAYTI AND LIBERIA.

In the Senate, on Tuesday, the bill making appropriations for sundry civil expenses for 1862 and 1863 being under consideration, Mr. Sumner offered an amendment appropriating $7,500 for a Commissioner and Consul-General to Hayti, and $4,500 for like officers to Liberia. Adopted.—Yeas 30; nays (Messrs. Carlile, Davis, Nesmith, Powell, Saulsbury, Stark,) 6.

The bill then passed.

PETITION FOR PAYMENT FOR A SLAVE.

The following Slaveholder's petition is from a Presbyterian minister of Maryland. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House, which has instructed Mr. Wilson of Iowa to report it back with a recommendation that it lie upon the table.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

GENTLEMEN: I, the subscriber, a resident of the State of Maryland, and loyal citizen of the United States, now suffering the loss of my property by the recent act of Congress making the District of Columbia *free soil* and an outlet for all the slave property of Maryland.

My slave George Giles having availed himself of the protection thus afforded to fugitives, and escaped from the service he was by law and justice bound to render, do hereby, as my right and with all due respect, petition your honorable body either to return to service the said colored man, George Giles, or pay to me the sum of one thousand dollars, the lowest estimated value of the services of said colored servant for the period he was bound to service.

Harford Co., Md., May 15, 1862. THOS. HOPE.

SLAVE TRADE TREATY.

In the Senate, on Tuesday, a message from the President was received, transmitting the treaty in reference to the slave trade with Great Britain, now fully ratified, and a copy of the correspondence on that subject. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Chronicles of the War.

Gen. McClellans's Movements.

Richmond is not yet captured, nor is it certain when that event will take place. The battle of Fair Oaks, fought on Saturday and Sunday, May 31st and June 1st, was more severe and less a victory for the Union forces than was at first reported. The following is the official statement of losses:

Killed	890
Wounded	3,627
Missing	1,222
Grand total	5,739

The rebel loss is unknown, but supposed to be still greater. The rebel force at Richmond is variously estimated, but supposed to be very large, and a terrible battle is imminent.

Progress in the Southwest.

An important naval engagement took place on the 6th inst, on the Mississippi, in the vicinity of Memphis, which resulted in a signal victory to the Union cause, and led to the surrender of that city. Advices have been received in Washington, from Commodore Davis, at Memphis, announcing that on Friday morning the fleet under his command, aided by Col. Ellet's ram flotilla, engaged the rebel fleet of eight gunboats and rams, and a fight ensued lasting till 7 o'clock in the evening. Seven of the rebel fleet were captured—one only escaping by superior speed. Col. Ellet was seriously but not dangerously wounded. Memphis was surrendered immediately after the engagement, and was placed under military authority.

Fort Pillow is now in the possession of the Federal forces, the rebels having evacuated the stronghold and burned everything that was inflammable. A number of guns were left in good condition, but the large mortars were destroyed.

Our forces occupy the following places: Baldwin and Guntown, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, about thirty-one and thirty-six miles south of Corinth respectively; and Jackson and Bolivar, on the Mississippi Central Railroad, located respectively in Madison and Hardeman Counties, Tennessee, a short distance north by west of Corinth. It is estimated that about 20,000 have deserted from Beauregard's army since its departure from Corinth, mostly from Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas regiments. All the troops from those States are closely guarded by Mississippi and Alabama regiments. It is believed that Beauregard cannot enter Columbus with more than half of his original army, as the whole country north of Baldwin is full of armed soldiers returning to Tennessee and Kentucky. The enemy, as well as the people along the line of his march, are suffering greatly from want of food.

A dispatch from Gen. Halleck to the War Department, Dated at Corinth on the 9th inst., states that the enemy had fallen back to Tusilla fifty miles from that place by railroad, and about seventy miles by waggon road. General Pope estimates the rebel oss from casualities, prisoners, and desertion at over 20,000, and Gen. Buell at between 20,000 and 30,000. A person who was employed in the Confederate commissary department says they had 120,000 men in Corinth, and that now they cannot muster much over 80,000. Gen. Beauregard himself retreated from Baldwin on Saturday afternoon to Okolona.

Chattanooga, the most important strategic position in East Tennessee, is probably now in our possession. General Mitchell, in dispatches from Huntsville, Ala., announces that an expedition commanded by General Negley had driven the enemy, under the command of General Adams, from Winchester, through Jasper, back to Chattanooga, and utterly defeated and routed them at that point. Their baggage waggons, ammunition, and supplies were captured. Still more important results were expected to follow this movement.

Gen. Fremont's Movements.

Gen. Fremont's army reached Harrisonburg Friday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, and drove out the enemy's rear guard from the town. At 4 o'clock the First New Jersey Cavalry, after driving the enemy through the village, fell into an ambuscade, and Col. Windham, its commander, was captured. The regiment sustained considerable loss. Gen. Bayard subsequently engaged the enemy with his brigade, drove him from his position, and captured his camp. The rebels then continued their retreat. Gen. Fremont followed with his army on Sunday morning, and engaged the enemy about seven miles from Harrisonburg. The battle lasted from 11 a.m. until 4 p.m., and was contested with great vigor on both sides, and both suffered very heavy losses. Gen. Fremont does not state which party was the victor. Our forces encamped on the field of battle, expecting a renewal of the fight at any moment.

The Southern Department.

Dispatches from Charleston published in late Southern papers which have been received at Baltimore, announce that on the morning of the 4th ult., the United States forces, 2,500 strong, landed at James Island, opposite the former city, and a battle ensued. Our men are reported to have been repulsed and twenty of their number taken prisoners by the rebel troops, who were commanded by Gen. Gist. The prisoners stated that our forces to the number of 1,700 had landed on Battery Island and on John Island. Gen. Gist closes his last dispatch in the afternoon of the 4th with the statement that our troops were then in front of him in force, under cover of their gunboats, and that an advance was imminent.

Secretary Welles on Slave-catching.

Secretary Welles has addressed the following letter to Commander Rowan, commanding the flotilla in the North Carolina Sounds, who had incidentally mentioned in a dispatch that the claimant of a fugitive black had been permitted to go to Roanoke Island in search of him and to take him away, if he was willing to go:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Washington, June 8, 1862.

SIR: In your dispatch of the 17th ult. allusion is made to a conversation with Mr. Brooks at Elizabeth City, N. C., relative to his efforts to obtain a favorite servant, supposed to be with the U. S. forces.' As similar applications may frequently be made, it is proper to remind you that persons who have enlisted in the naval service cannot be discharged without the consent of the Department, and that no one should be "given up" against his wishes.

Very respectfully, GIDEON WELLES.

Capt. J. C. ROWAN, Commanding Naval Forces Sounds North Carolina.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at her residence in Hudson, N. Y., on Sunday morning, May 25, MARIA MARRIOTT, aged 76 years.

For two years past the health of our beloved friend has been gradually failing, and the change which has now taken place she has looked forward to with sweet serenity of spirit, and remarkable cheerfulness. During the last few weeks of her illness she suffered much, both in body and mind, until finally the quiet translation occurred as a most welcome release.

Since the early inauguration of the anti-slavery movement, when *The Liberator*, with its motto of "immediate, unconditional emancipation," was first sent forth upon its important mission, our friend has been among the most faithful and devoted of the slave's truest friends. By great fidelity, and valuable testimonies in the social circle, by constant distribution of anti-slavery publications in the sphere of her acquaintance, by generous hospitality and liberal donations to the American Anti-Slavery Society, has she accomplished much in behalf of the oppressed.

She was the last surviving sister of the late Charles Marriott. Though a member of the Society of Friends, she had for many years withheld her active coöperation because of the Society's painful indifference to the anti-slavery cause. Deploring the unhallowed influences which ever follow in the wake of the horrible, bloody drama of war, she looked forward, not without apprehension, to universal emancipation as the final end of the present national contest.

She was a most thoughtful, benevolent friend of the colored people, the poor and friendless, the orphans of the city, by whom she will be greatly missed.

She accepted with a lively faith the doctrine of continued, individual, conscious immortality of the spirit, and the view that the change called death does not wholly sever the delicate links by which we are all most closely bound together, both in the present and the hereafter.

Precious to many will be her memory, and blessed the influence she will continue to exert upon such as were nearest her in the spirit of loving companionship.

A. M. P.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.—The course of lectures before the "Emancipation League" was opened on Thursday evening, 5th inst., at the Cooper Institute, by a lecture from Gen. Lane of Kansas. Hon. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, will follow him on Thursday evening of the present week. The friends of Emancipation should attend these lectures in multitudinous array.

A STRAWBERRY FESTIVAL, for the benefit of the Institution (334 Sixth avenue) for the Children of Deceased or Disabled Soldiers, will be held at Mozart Hall, 663 Broadway, to commence on Monday next and continue one week. A musical entertainment will be given every evening. Season tickets 25 cents.

HON. JOHN P. HALE is entitled to our thanks for sending us volume XI. of "Reports of Explorations and Surveys" for the Pacific Railroad, made under direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853-56.

Summary.

VIEWS OF GOV. WASHBURN OF MAINE.—We have it from good authority that Gov. Washburn approves of the spirit and expressions of opinion of Gov. Andrew's letter to the Secretary of War, counselling the use of every legitimate means, negroes not excepted, to crush out the rebellion.—*Lewiston (Me.) Journal.*

The Constitution of the United States has again been fractured, and our Southern brethren insulted, by a certain black chattel. This law-defying negro carried a load of Gen. Banks's men to Winchester; but it may be consoling to some people to know that the chivalry, under Ewell, paused in their work of killing helpless sick and wounded Yankees long enough to shoot and capture the black fellow.

Two of the negro teamsters who came in to Keyes's headquarters gave, as the reason of their flight, their belief of the story current among the Africans in Richmond, that "Lincoln was coming dar right off, and was gwyne to draw a line frough Richmond, and was gwyne to take all the black people Norf of dat line, and let the rebels have all dem Sout of it; and I and dis boy tought we would get on de Norf side of de line."

Parson Brownlow, the unflinching Union martyr, is to receive $10,000 for the copyright of his forthcoming autobiography. He is also reaping a golden harvest by his lectures. At the Academy of Music, New York, he received $2,500; in Brooklyn, $1,200; and it is said each lecture averages $1,000. At New Haven on Wednesday night he had an audience of near 3,000. He lectured in Boston Friday night, to a vast audience. Springfield should invite him to address her citizens. His greatest ambition is to recommence the Knoxville *Whig*, which the rebels suppressed when they found the brave parson was not to be bribed or scared out of his Union sentiments.

SECESSION BITTERNESS.—A member of the New York Seventh Regiment, passing through Baltimore on his way to the war, went to the residence of his cousin on Madison avenue for the purpose of paying his respects. The servant, instead of ushering him into the parlor, left him standing upon the stoop while he announced his name. In a moment or two the cousin appeared, when, seeing his relative in uniform, without uttering a word, rudely pushed his visitor from the doorway upon the stoop and slammed the door in his face. This feeling and treatment of the soldiers is noticeable in every "highcality," but among middling and lower classes the troops are cordially greeted and respectfully treated.—*Tribune Cor.*

GEN. HOOKER REFUSES TO BE A SLAVE-CATCHER.—A letter in *The Tribune* from Hooker's department in Virginia, states: "Dr. Crump, a bitter secessionist living near by, has sustained a considerable loss in human chattels within the past week. This morning five of them were *non est*, and Dr. Crump forthwith applied to Gen. Hooker for aid to capture them. The General very promptly replied that his soldiers were not slave-catchers, and the Doctor departed. After having been in the saddle for an entire day, fasting on dry crackers and water, I applied to this Crump, stating that I was hungry and weary, and would gladly pay for food for myself and horse. He would provide me with neither, at the same time announcing himself a secessionist, a declaration, under the circumstances, altogether superfluous."

A COLORED CONFEDERATE SOLDIER.—We had an interview this morning with a very intelligent "contraband" named George Jackson, who was attached to one of the rebel batteries at Yorktown during the occupation of that place by the Confederates. He had been in the artillery service some six months—his master being a Lieutenant in the company with which he was connected. The poor fellow's hands were frightfully burnt in handling hot shot. He had been provided with leather gloves; but these getting burnt through, he was compelled to use his naked hands. He informs us that a large number of negroes were employed on the different batteries—that indeed they were relied upon to do a good share of the heavy "business" of manning them.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

THE OLDEN TIME.—The Delaware *State Journal* has the minutes of the second Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies established in different parts of the United States. Said Convention met at Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1795. James A. Bayard (father of the present semi-secession U. S. Senator from Delaware) and Allen McLane (father of the Hon. Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury under Gen. Jackson, and grandfather of the Hon. Robert M. McLane, ex-M.C. and a Baltimore sympathiser with secession) represented Delaware in that Convention. Those Revolutionary patriots were termed Federalists, and by many deemed aristocrats; their living descendants, being champions of eternal slavery, are styled Democrats. Dr. Benjamin Rush, Jonathan Edwards, Wm. Rawle, etc., were also delegates.

THE FREED BLACKS.—*Franklin, Va., May* 21, 1862.—The presence and passage of our army in the country is having the effect of settling the slavery question here, for emancipation follows its path. I have talked with many of these poor negroes, and find them singularly intelligent. A boy only twelve years old, dubbed Abraham by his emancipators, replied to my questions as to what he would do should the Lieutenant leave him behind:

"But he wont do no sich thing."

"Supposing he does?"

"I tell you he wont! I'd trabbel always, till I fall dead, fore I go back to Massa Van Metre!"

"Why do you wish to go to Ohio?"

"Case I means to learn to read and write; I's dumb now."

Although there are large numbers of these people within our lines, I have not heard of a single claim made. They are of great value to us in many ways, especially as guides, and the scouts tell me that there has never been an instance of false or even incorrect information derived from them.—*Cor. Evening Post.*

MAY FETE.—A very pleasant May fete was held on Saturday, May 31, in Lewellyn Park, Orange, N. J. The May-pole, which was used last year for the first time, was gaily decorated, and a young girl, radiant in all the freshness of youth, flowers and excitement, with due attendance of fair maids and gallant knights, pretty pages and sparkling seasons, was crowned queen of the May. Then there was dancing around the May-pole, and a May song was sung to the tune of "His soul is marching on," a significant line of which was:

"Union forever! Freedom to all!
This, the Nation's call."

Near a thousand people, including many from the city (indeed the Queen herself was from the city, and bears a name which is one of the best known on Broadway), assisted in the festival by their presence and enjoyment, if by nothing more. The charm of association, the brilliancy of trees and flowers and youthful grace and beauty, the melody of brass and the fragrance of the forest trees, combined in a witchery which transported many staid souls into fairy land.—*Tribune.*

EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—In 1838, William H. Seward and Luther Bradish were the Whig nominees for Governor and Lieut.-Governor of New York. The Abolitionists, headed by Gerrit Smith, addressed a letter to each of the candidates as to their views of slavery. Mr. Bradish replied, affirming and promising everything the Abolitionists required, while Mr. Seward's letter could not be construed as promising anything. His *action*, however, as Governor, exceeded all that the most ardent anti-slavery men could have expected. His Executive Messages, Virginia correspondence, and the statutes of 1839-42 show a record that places his name by the side of that of John Jay. As Senator, the public knows well what he did and attempted to do for freedom. When Mr. Clay proposed to abolish the slave trade in the district of Columbia, Mr. Seward offered as a substitute for Mr. Clay's bill an act abolishing slavery itself, supporting it by an eloquent speech. (See *Congressional Globe*,* vol. 21, p. 1,794, Sept. 10, 1850, and "Seward's Works," Vol. I., page 111.) And, now, as Secretary of State, he has negotiated—if not originated—a treaty effectually suppressing the slave trade—a fatal blow to slavery throughout the world. These are but a few of the illustrations of Mr. Seward's habit of promising little and doing much for the cause of Freedom and Humanity. JUSTICE.

* This reference is made in answer to a correspondent in *The Tribune* of April 28.

BERIAH GREEN'S LECTURE.—The lecture delivered Thursday night by Rev. Beriah Green, in response to the principles enunciated in Judge Nott's recent lectures, was listened to with much interest by a good audience. The lecturer treated his topic with his usual felicity of argument and illustration, rendering a somewhat abstract subject interesting and easily comprehensible. The chief subject of discussion was the principles of the American theory of government as laid down in the opening passages of the Declaration of Independence. It was well argued that the equality alluded to in the Declaration consists in the possession by all men of the same essential qualities or faculties. This was implied in the phrase "created equal"; which could mean nothing less than that men were alike in those essential attributes put in their constitution by the Creator. The right of "life," specified in the Declaration, was construed to mean not merely a right to a physical and animal existence, but to free mental and moral action, to the existence of every function with which men are created; and this right belonged equally to *all* men. In the course of an able development of the fundamental principles of our government, Mr. Green dealt many hard blows at the abomination of slavery, showing it to be inconsistent with our institutions, and with those unalienable rights of humanity on which the democratic theory of government is based. These lectures are to be continued, and ought to be heard by all who have been befogged by Judge Nott's fallacies.—*Utica Herald.*

SAVE ILLINOIS FROM DISHONOR.—A base clique of political malcontents and lickspittles of slavery, who obtained seats in the late State Convention of Illinois in the absence of so many thousands of respectable citizens in the army, have incorporated into the draft of a Constitution, which is now about to be voted on by the people, one of the most outrageous provisions in

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

JUNE.

BY ANNA GARDNER.

By the awak'ning, quick'ning flush
With which the earth is rife,
Pouring through every vein the flush,
The pulse-beat of new life—
And by the rose-heart's mant'ling red,
The joyous lark's sweet tune,
We know thy velvet-footed tread,
Oh! leafy month of June.

But dissonant sounds salute the ear,
Borne from our Southern plains—
The tramp of armies—in the rear
Behold deep crimson stains.
And mingled with the balmy breath
From orange-grove and bower,
Are pestilential scents of Death,
And war's consummate flower.

As ev'ry tiny tender shoot,
Piercing the mellow ground,
Bears in itself the flower and fruit
Wherewith the year is crowned—
So may we feel that all the strife,
The throbbing pang of war,
Is but the prelude of a life
Of Liberty and Law.

That from the soil bedewed with blood,
Wet with a Nation's tears,
Fair Freedom's plant shall sweetly bud
And bloom through fragrant years!
Scatt'ring its ripened fruitage where
Slavery's embittered root
Blights the rich soil, pollutes the air,
And blasts fair Freedom's fruit.

FIRST CHAPTER IN THE HORRORS OF SAN DOMINGO.

[Rev. John Weiss has begun, in *The Atlantic Monthly* for June, to tell, "from the beginning and for its own sake," the "Story of Hayti," in order thereby to disabuse the world of certain false ideas of the negro character, which often find expression in the words, "Horrors of San Domingo." He goes back to the time antecedent to the introduction of *negro* slavery in that island, and shows how the first bloody chapter in the "Horrors" that have attended its history was enacted by the whites in their treatment of the aborigines. After describing the character, habits and customs of the people found on the island at the time of its discovery, Mr. Weiss proceeds to tell us what was "the style of treatment in converting and enslaving them."]

What influence could the noble elements of the Spanish character have, when theology, avarice, and lust controlled the conquest? Pure minds and magnanimous intentions went in the same ships with adventurers, diseased soldiers, cold and superstitious men of business, and shaven monks with their villanous low brows and thin inquisitorial smile. The average character speedily obtained ascendancy, because the best men were to some extent partakers of it. Columbus was eager to make his great discovery pay well, to preserve the means of continued exploration. In one hand he lifted high the banner of possession with its promise of a cross, which direful irony fulfilled; with the other he kept feeding the ravenous nation with gold, to preserve its sympathy and admiration, that the supply of men and vessels should not fail. Las Casas himself, a just and noble man, the first advocate of the natural rights of men in the New World, soon found that the situation was too strong and cruel; his wishes and struggles went under before the flood of evil passions which swept the island. He maintained his fight against Indian slavery by not discountenancing negro slavery. And his fight was unavailing, because mercy had no legitimate place upon the new soil. The logic of events was with the evil majority, which was obliged at last to maintain its atrocious consistency in self-defence. He might as well have preached the benefits of Lenten diet to shipwrecked men upon a raft, insane with thirst and the taste of comrade's flesh. It was a Devil's problem, which is the kind that cannot hold back from its devilish conclusion.

But bad passions were not alone to blame. The Spanish notion of conversion desolated like avarice. The religious bodies which from time to time controlled the affairs of the island differed in their humanity and general policy: the Dominicans were friends of the Indian and haters of the turbulent oppressor; the Franciscans were the instruments of the bad men whose only ambition was to wring pleasure and fortune out of the Indian's heart; the monks of St. Jerome undertook in vain a neutral and reconciling policy. But they all agreed that the Indians must be baptized, catechized, and more or less chastised into the spirit of the gospel and conformity to Rome. The *conquistadores* drove with a whip, the missionaries with a dogma. The spirit of the nation and of the age sternly asked for theological conformity: it was seriously understood that a man should believe or burn. For one of those two things he was preordained. Everybody was convinced that a drop of water on the dusky forehead of these natives quenched the flames of hell. The methods used to get that holy drop applied lighted flames, to escape from which anybody would take his chance of the remoter kind.

The cacique Hatuey understood the Spaniards. He was the first man in the New World who saw by instinct what an after-age perceived by philosophical reflection. He should have been the historian of the Conquest. The Spaniards had destroyed his people, and forced him to fly to Cuba for safety. There he also undertook a conversion of the natives. "Do you expect to defend yourselves against this people," he said, "while you do not worship the same God? This God I know; he is more powerful than ours, and I reveal him to you." With this he shows them a little piece of gold. "Here he is; let us celebrate a festival to honor him, that his favor may be extended to us." The natives hold a solemn smoking around the Spanish God, which is followed by singing and dancing, as to one of their own Zemés. Having adroitly concentrated their attention in this way upon the article of gold, Hatuey the next morning reassembles the people and finishes his missionary labors. "My mind is not at ease. There can be no safety for us while the God of the Spaniard is in our midst. They seek him everywhere. Their devotion is so great that they settle in a place only for the convenience of worship. It is useless to attempt to hide him from their eyes. If you should swallow him, they would disembowel you in the name of religion. Even the bottom of the sea may not be too far, but there it is that we must throw him. When he can no longer be found with us, they will leave us in peace."

Admirable counsel, if the gold in veins, or their own blood, were not also the object of search. The natives collected all their gold and threw it into the sea. A party of Spaniards, landing upon the Island not long after, Hatuey was taken prisoner, and condemned to be burnt alive because he refused to be converted!

> "Was conduct ever more affronting?
> With all the ceremony settled!
> With the towel ready"—

and all the other apparatus for a first-class baptism, and the annexation to Rome and Heaven of a tribe! When he was tied to the stake, and a priest conjured him to profess Christianity and make a sure thing of paradise, he cut him short with—

"Are there Spaniards in this place of delights of which you speak?"

"There are indeed, but only good ones."

"The best of them is good for nothing," said the cacique. "I would rather not go where I might have to meet them."

Dying, he had his preference.

It seems to be one that is innate in the savage mind. An Ojibbeway was apparently pleased with the new religion that was proffered to him, and thought of being baptized, but, dreaming that he went up to a far prairie covered with numerous trails of white men, without the print of a single moccasin, was cured of his desire. The Frisian Radbod also expressed his disgust at the converting methods of Charles the Hammer. "He had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font, when a thought struck him. 'Where are my dead forefathers at present?' he said, turning suddenly upon Bishop Wolfran. 'In hell, with all other unbelievers,' was the imprudent answer. 'Mighty well!' replied Radbod, removing his leg; 'then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven.'" * And if he, too, died a heathen, it is certain that one continued to live in Bishop Wolfran. For it is men of his narrow and brutal theology who are not yet converted to Christianity, but who get a dispensation to disgust men with that glorious name.

So it went on at Hayti. Catholic fetiches vied with the native ones for ascendancy. Ecclesiastics were charged with the management of secular as well as spiritual matters, for it was the genius of Spain to govern by the priest. A very few of them understood men, and had a head for affairs; of these, some were pure, the rest were base, and readily fraternized with the soldiers and politicians in their selfish policy. A bad and cruel theology, a narrow priestly mind, became the instruments of lust and murder.

Guarionex was the chief cacique of a province which comprised the middle part of the Vega Real. His conversion was undertaken by Friar Roman, a St. Jeromite, and Joan Borognon, a Franciscan. The cacique listened attentively to their instructions, but the natives, already alienated by the excesses of the Spaniards, would neither attend mass nor be catechized, except upon compulsion. It was the policy of Guarionex to offer no resistance to the addresses of the priests. But an outrage committed upon his wife hindered the progress of religion in his province. He dashed the cross to the ground in fury, and scattered the utensils. The affrighted priests fled, leaving behind a chapel with some pictures which they had instructed the converts to regard in offering up their prayers. Guarionex buried all the pictures, and said over them, instead of a Pater, "Now you will begin to bear fruit!" Friar Roman says that a catechumen, digging his *agis* (sweet pepper) in that field, found two or three of them grown together in the shape of a cross. The miracle and the outrage were reported at once, and the six natives who had buried the pictures at the command of Guarionex were burnt alive! This was the first *auto-da-fé* on Haytian soil.

The preaching and the lust went on. But the preaching sometimes addressed the sinner also. Montesino, a Dominican preacher, attacked the cruelty of the colonists from the pulpit of San Domingo. He was accused of treason; that is to say, the king was held to represent the policy which enslaved and destroyed the Indian. The authorities threatened to expel the Dominicans from the Island, if the preacher did not apologize and withdraw his charges. Montesino promised soon to preach in another style. Having filled the church with his malignant audience, he bravely maintained his position with fresh facts and arguments; he showed that the system of *repartimientos*, or partition of the Indians among the colonists, was more disastrous than the first system, which imposed upon each cacique a tax and left him to extort it from his subjects. He urged the policy of interest; for the Indians, unused to labor, died in droves: they dropped in the fields beneath the whip; they escaped by whole families to the mountains, and there perished with hunger; they threw themselves into the water, and killed each other in the forests; families committed suicide in concert;—there would soon be no laborers, and the Spaniard could rob and murder, but would not toil. Brave preacher, worthy mouth-piece of the humane Las Casas, what could he effect against the terrible exigency of the situation? For here was a colony, into which all the prisons of Spain had just been emptied to repair a failing emigration—men bred in crime coalescing with men whose awakened passions made them candidates for prison,—the whole community, with the exception of the preacher and his scattered sympathizers, animated by one desire, to get the gold, to exhaust the soil, to glut voluptuous immunity, to fill the veins with a fiery climate, and to hurry back with wealth enough to feed it more safely in the privacies of Madrid and Seville. What were preaching and benevolent intention, where shaven superstition was inculcating the cross by its weight alone, and bearded ferocity desolated with the sword what the cross could spare? The discussion which Montesino raised went home to Spain; but when a board of commissioners, charged to investigate the subject, advised that all Indians granted to Spanish courtiers, and to all other persons who did not reside upon the island, should be set at liberty, the colonists saw the entering wedge of emancipation. The discontent was so great, and the alternative of slavery or ruin was so passionately offered to the government at home, that the system of *repartimientos* remained untouched; for the government felt that it must choose between the abandonment of the island and the destruction of those who alone, if judiciously protected, could make it profitable to retain it.

Protection and amelioration, then, became the cry. In consequence of the great increase of cattle in the island, it was considered no more than just that the Indians should no longer be used as beasts of burden. They were also to have one day in the seven, besides the Church festivals, for their own use; and intendants were appointed who were to have a general supervision of their affairs, and to protect them from barbarous punishments. These regulations were a weir of reeds thrown across a turbid and tumultuous Amazon.

Las Casas was an eye-witness of the cruelties which he exposed in his memoirs to the government, those uncompromising indictments of his own nation and of the spirit of the age. He had seen the natives slaughtered like sheep in a pen, and the butchers laid bets with each other upon their dexterity in cleaving them asunder at a stroke. Children, torn from the bosoms of their mothers, were brained against the stones, or thrown into the water with mocking cries,—"That will refresh you!" A favorite mode of immolation, which had the merit of exciting theological associations, was to bind thirteen of the natives to as many stakes, one for each apostle and one for the Savior, and then to make a burnt-offering of them. Others were smeared with pitch and lighted. Sometimes a fugitive who had been recaptured was sent into the forest with his severed hand—"Go, carry this letter to the others who have escaped, with our compliments."

"I have seen," says Las Casas, "five chiefs and several other Indians roasting together upon hurdles, and the Spanish captain was enraged because their cries disturbed his *siesta*. He ordered them to be strangled, that he might hear no more of it. But the superintendent, whom I know, as well as his family, which is from Seville, more cruel than the officer, refused to end their torture." He would not be cheated of his after-dinner luxury, so he gagged them with sticks and replenished the fires.*

Columbus first made use of dogs against the Indians, but merely to intimidate. They were swift dogs of chase, impetuous and dangerous, but did not yet deserve to be called bloodhounds. The Spaniards, however, by frequently using them in the pursuit of escaping natives, without thinking it worth while to restrain their motions, gradually educated them to a taste for human blood. From the breed, thus modified, the West Indian bloodhound descended, possibly not without admixture with other savage dogs of French and English breeds which were brought to the island by their scarcely less savage owners. Many of the dogs which the Spaniards carried to South America roamed at large and degenerated into beasts of prey. Soldiers at one time were detailed to hunt them, and were then nicknamed *Mataperros*, or dog-slayers.

But if the dogs fed upon the Indian's body, the monk was ever vigilant to save his soul. A woman was holding her child of twelve months, says Las Casas, when she perceived the approach of the hounds in full cry after a party of natives. Feeling that she could not escape, she instantly tied her babe to her leg and then suspended herself from a beam. The dogs came up at the moment that a monk was baptizing the child, thus luckily cutting off its purgatory just behind the jaws that devoured it.

Spaniards were known to feed their dogs, when short of meat, by chopping off a native's arm and throwing it to them; and a few fed their dogs exclusively upon native-meat. We have the authority of Las Casas for the fact, which he took care to have well attested from various sources, that a Spaniard would borrow a quarter of native from a friend for his hounds, promising to return it at a favorable opportunity. Somebody asked one of these generous livers how his housekeeping flourished. "Well enough," was the reply; "I have killed twenty of these rascally Indians, and now, thank God, my dogs have something to eat."

The Spaniards paid their gambling debts in natives. If a governor lost heavily at cards, he would give the winner an order upon some cacique for a corresponding amount of gold, or natives in default of the metal, knowing that the gold could no longer be procured. Sometimes the lucky gambler made the levy without applying to the cacique. The stakes were not unfrequently for three and four hundred Indians in the early days of the colonies, when natives were so plenty that one could be bought for a cheese, or an *arroba* of vinegar, wine or lard. Eighty natives were swapped for a mare, and a hundred for a lame horse. When it began to be difficult to lay hands upon them, it was only necessary to send for a missionary, who would gradually collect them for purposes of instruction and worship. When the habit of attending a chapel was pretty well confirmed, the building was surrounded, the young and stout ones were seized and branded, and carried away, with the most attractive females, for further indoctrination in the Christian arts.

A device of the caciques which was practised in Nicaragua might easily have been pursued in Hayti. But the account of Las Casas refers to the former province. When a demand was made upon one cacique to supply laborers, he would repair to another, and say, "The devil who has me in his power wants so many men and women. I have no doubt that your devil will say the same thing to you. Let us arrange the matter. Give me the facility of procuring my quota in your tribe, and you shall take yours from my tribe." "It is agreed; for my devil has just made a similar demand of me." Each cacique would then swear to the commanders, who were very nice upon the technicality so long as slaves were plenty, that the men furnished came from his own district, thus saving his life and his credit with his people. This was a great convenience; for in all savage exigencies and dire perils men must study how they can best arrange with the inevitable.

But it will be too painful to recount the various inventions for punishing these unhappy children of Nature. The dogs, perhaps, were merciful, for they killed and ate a native on the spot. Cutting off the ear and nose was an ordinary barbarity,—in its origin it was a way to save time in collecting ornaments; shutting fifty or more in a house and setting it in flames was a favorite method of extemporizing a bonfire; pricking a crowd of insurgent natives over a precipice into the sea was an exceptional act of mercy,—they would place one hand over their eyes and take the plunge. It was a common sport to match stout Indians with the hounds, and bet upon their wrestling. In the pearl-fisheries, in rowing galleys, in agriculture, in the mines, in carrying ship-timber, anchors, and pieces of ordnance, in transporting produce, the Spaniards wasted the natives as if they were wind and water-power which Nature could supply without limit. How can this ferocity be accounted for? It consulted neither interest nor personal safety. They raged like men stung to madness by poisonous clouds of insects; the future received no consideration; plans for improving the methods of cultivating different crops, or for introducing new staples, could not be carried out. Once having tasted native blood, like their own dogs, the hunting mania possessed them, till two million of Haytians alone had perished. The population had become so reduced as early as 1508 that they were obliged to organize great Indian chases on the main-land, and a Coolie trade sprang up in the Lucayan Islands, to keep the Haytian mines and plantations supplied with hands. Forty thousand of these Lucayans were transported, on the assurance of the Spaniards that they would be restored to the souls of their ancestry, who had gone to reside in that Mountain-land of the West. Was there a touch of grim Spanish humor in this inducement to emigrate? For certainly the Lucayans did very soon rejoin those departed souls.

Wine and the climate maddened these unbridled Europeans. Avarice is a calculating passion; but here were aimless and exhausting horrors, like those which swarm in the drunkard's corrupted brain. What were vices at home became transformed into manias here. The representatives of other nations were not slow to imitate the example of the possessors of Hayti. Venezuela was ceded to a company of Germans in 1526, whose object was simply to strip the country of its treasures. Las Casas tries to believe that the Spaniards seemed like just men by the side of these new speculators; but it was not possible to destroy natives faster than was done in the countries under Spanish rule. The Germans, after all, were forced to employ Spaniards to pursue the Indians when they attempted to escape from this new system of farming into the mountains, and they profited so well by the lessons of their Catholic hunters, that, upon their departure, they hit upon new expedients for making the natives productive. The German Governor constructed a great palisaded park, into which he managed to drive all the Indians of the neighborhood, and then informed them that they could issue from it only as slaves, unless they paid a certain ransom, whose value he fixed. They were deliberately starved into adopting one or the other alternative. Those who could procure gold were let out to collect it, leaving their wives and children as pledges of their return. Many of the others preferred to die of hunger and thirst. When the ransomed natives departed with their families, the Governor had them pursued, reparked, and subjected to a repetition of this sponging process, and again a third time, so admirably did it work. This strikes Las Casas as a refinement of cruelty, which can be attributed only to the fact that these Germans were Lutheran heretics, and never assisted at the mass. "This is the way," he says, "that they conformed to the royal intention of establishing Christianity in these countries!"

How did the Spaniards conform to it? Rude soldiers became the managers of the different working gangs into which the Indians had been divided, and it devolved upon them to superintend their spiritual welfare. Enough has been said about their brutality; but their ignorance was no less remarkable. Las Casas complains that they could not repeat the *Credo*, nor the Ten Commandments. Their ignorance of the former would have been bliss, if they had been practically instructed in the latter. John Colmenero was one of these common soldiers who became installed in a Commandery *(Encomiendo)*. When the missionaries visited his plantation, they found that the natives had not the slightest notions of Christianity. They examined John on the subject, and discovered to their horror that he did not know even how to make the sign of the cross. "What have you been teaching these poor Indians?" they asked him. "Why, that they are all going to the devil! Won't your *signin santin cruces* help to teach them that?" *

No doubt it would; for we know how serviceable in that way Ovando found it, when he plotted to seize the beautiful Anacaona, who governed the province of Xaragua in Hayti. This he did, and also gave the signal for a dreadful massacre of her subjects, whom he had beguiled to a military spectacle, by lifting his hand to the cross of Alcantara that was embroidered on his dress.

Colmenero had not a head for business like that other Spaniard who baptized all the inhabitants of a village and took away their idols of gold, for which he substituted copper ones, and then compelled the natives to purchase them of him at so many slaves per idol.

"Come, then, caciques and Indians, come!" This was the ordinary style of proclamation. "Abandon your false gods, adore the God of the Christians, profess their religion, believe in the gospel, receive the sacrament of baptism, recognize the King of Castile for your king and master. If you refuse, we declare war upon you to kill you, to make you slaves, to spoil you of your goods, and to cause you to suffer as long and as often as we shall judge convenient," † and for the good of your souls.

In 1542, Charles V. procured a bull from Pope Paul III. restoring the Indians to their natural freedom: this he confirmed and dispatched to the Island. Las Casas, the Protector of the Indians, had carried his point at last, but the Indians were beyond protection. The miserable remnant were no longer of consequence, for the African had begun to till the soil enriched by so much native blood. Thus ends the first chapter of the Horrors of San Domingo.

* Llorente, Tom. I., p. 180.

† Llorente, Tom. I., p. 28.

* Motley's *Dutch Republic*, Vol. I., p. 20.

* Llorente's *Œuvres de Las Casas; Premiere Memoire, contenant la Relation des Cruautes*, etc.

THE LESSON OF JAMAICA.

Brandon Hill Station, Jamaica, W. I., April 20, 1862.

To the Editors of The Independent.

"Can the emancipated slaves take care of themselves?" is doubtless a question of great interest to Christians in America at the present time.

I have lived two years and a half as missionary under the American Missionary Association in the mountains of Jamaica, eighteen miles from Kingston, right in the midst of a settlement of the emancipated slaves of this island, and after much careful observation, and after having a good insight into their character, habits, and life, I am prepared to say that the slaves in America, if emancipated, *will take care of themselves*. They do it here, and they will do it anywhere, only give them an opportunity. They not merely *live* here, but they *live well*. They have everything sufficient to make them comfortable and happy. I know the people here are not a lazy people. They are industrious.

Most of the people in the vicinity where I live, are obliged to obtain a living by renting land, at from four to five dollars per acre per annum, at a distance of from three to four miles, over very difficult roads from their homes, to which they have to go nearly every day to their labor; and the produce of their land they are obliged to carry on the backs of mules (oftentimes on their own heads) eighteen or twenty miles to market. Notwithstanding this manner of living would discourage me, and I am sure that it would almost any white person, yet they live so, and live comfortably, and they are as well satisfied with their lot as men generally are. I know of no one, who is not sick or disabled, but that gets a good living. I have not seen one that gets his living by stealing, or in any other dishonest manner. I am fully assured, from a careful observation of the people here, that the slaves, if emancipated, will prove an industrious, hard-laboring people. They will take care of themselves and do it honestly.

Many suppose they are *naturally* lazy and indolent, but I know from what I have seen they are not. They may be under slavery, where they have no inducement to labor. But who can blame them? There is no training in the world so calculated to make men lazy as the system of slavery; but give to them their liberty; let them have the inducements that other men have to labor; let them know that they can work for themselves, and that the fruit of their labor will be their own, and they will show themselves nearly equal to any other class of people in energy and industry.

On one occasion, when a number of our people were together, I asked them, knowing they had tried the experiment, if they thought the slaves, if emancipated, could and would take care of themselves; and in a manner expressive of their great joy and delight in the freedom they possessed, and without any hesitation, they gave a very decided answer in the affirmative.

There need be no fears that they will feel they have been doomed to labor long enough, and now that they are free they will enjoy a time of ease and rest. When they are free and know they can labor for themselves, they will rejoice in the privilege, and they will set themselves at work in good earnest; and I believe they will be more industrious and accomplish far more as freemen than they have been as slaves.

I believe they have done so here, but it is not to be seen in the exports or on the large estates (although I do not believe these have suffered materially as the result of emancipation); but it is to be seen in their own improved manner of living and in the comfortable cottages that have taken the places of their former miserable huts.

A people that are industrious are usually quiet and peaceable—and so they are here. I never lived among a people more so. It is a very easy matter to govern them. I have known but two or three instances of prosecution in our vicinity since I have been here, and those were for very trifling misdemeanors. I never lived among a people where offenses demanding legal attention were so rare. I have never lived where I have felt there was greater security of person or property than here, right in the midst of the emancipated slaves. I have frequently been called away from home days and nights, leaving my wife alone, and she has felt herself and everything else so secure that she did not deem it necessary to fasten the house, although she might have done so. This she would not dare do in most places in America.

I feel perfectly assured from what I have seen of the people here that emancipation will be safe and expedient for the *whites* and *blacks*, and for the country.

None living here and seeing the results of it have been blind to this fact except those *who would not see*.

S. B. Wilson.

THE TITMOUSE.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

You shall not be over-bold
When you deal with arctic cold,
As late I found my lukewarm blood
Chilled wading in the snow-choked wood.
How should I fight? my foeman fine
Has million arms to one of mine.
East, west, for aid I looked in vain;
East, west, north, south, are his domain.
Miles off, three dangerous miles, is home;
Must borrow his winds who there would come.
Up and away for life! be fleet!
The frost-king ties my fumbling feet,
Sings in my ears, my hands are stones,
Curdles the blood to the marble bones,
Tugs at the heartstrings, numbs the sense,
Hems in the life with narrowing fence.

Well, in this broad bed lie and sleep,
The punctual stars will vigil keep,
Embalmed by purifying cold,
The winds shall sing their dead-march old,
The snow is no ignoble shroud,
The moon thy mourner, and the cloud.

Softly—but this way fate was pointing,
'T was coming fast to such anointing,
When piped a tiny voice hard by,
Gay and polite, a cheerful cry,
"*Chic-chic-a-dee-dee!*" saucy note,
Out of sound heart and merry throat,
As if it said, "Good day, good Sir!
Fine afternoon, old passenger!
Happy to meet you in these places,
Where January brings few men's faces."

This poet, though he live apart,
Moved by a hospitable heart,
Sped, when I passed his sylvan fort,
To do the honors of his court,
As fits a feathered lord of land,
Flew near, with soft wing grazed my hand,
Hopped on the bough, then, darting low,
Prints his small impress on the snow,
Shows feats of his gymnastic play,
Head downward, clinging to the spray.
Here was this atom in full breath
Hurling defiance at vast death,
This scrap of valor just for play
Fronts the north-wind in waistcoat gray,
As if to shame my weak behavior.
I greeted loud my little savior:
"Thou pet! what dost here? and what for?
In these woods, thy small Labrador,
At this pinch, wee San Salvador!
What fire burns in that little chest,
So frolic, stout, and self-possest?
Didst steal the glow that lights the West?
Henceforth I wear no stripe but thine:
Ashes and black all hues outshine.
Why are not diamonds black and gray,
To ape thy dare-devil array?
And I affirm the spacious North
Exists to draw thy virtue forth.
I think no virtue goes with size:
The reason of all cowardice
Is, that men are overgrown,
And, to be valiant, must come down
To the titmouse dimension."

'Tis good-will makes intelligence,
And I began to catch the sense
Of my bird's songs: "Live out of doors,
In the great woods, and prairie floors.
I dine in the sun; when he sinks in the sea,
I, too, have a hole in a hollow tree.
And I like less when Summer beats
With stifling beams on these retreats
Than noontide twilights which snow makes
With tempest of the blinding flakes:
For well the soul, if stout within,
Can arm impregnably the skin;
And polar frost my frame defied,
Made of the air that blows outside."

With glad remembrance of my debt,
I homeward turn. Farewell, my pet!
When here again the pilgrim comes,
He shall bring store of seeds and crumbs.
Henceforth I prize thy wiry chant
O'er all that mass and minster vaunt:
For men mishear thy call in Spring,
As 't would accost some frivolous wing,
Crying out of the hazel copse, "*Phe-be!*"
And in Winter, "*Chic-a-dee-dee!*"
I think old Cæsar must have heard
In Northern Gaul my dauntless bird,
And, echoed in some frosty wold,
Borrowed thy battle-numbers bold.
And I shall write our annals new,
And thank thee for a better clew:
I, who dreamed not, when I came here,
To find the antidote of fear,
Now hear thee say in Roman key,
"*Pæan! Ve-ni, Vi-di, Vi-ci.*"

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

A FUNERAL AMONG SLAVES.

[From "Among the Pines," in *The Continental Monthly* for June. The scene of the story is a plantation in the Northern part of South Carolina, where Mr. Edmund Kirke, who tells the story, was a guest.]

The conversation, at dinner, rambled over a wide range of subjects, and was carried on mainly by the Colonel and myself; but toward the close of the meal the lady said to me:

"Mr. K——, Sam and young Junius are to be buried this evening. If you have never seen a negro funeral, perhaps you'd like to attend."

"I will be happy to accompany you, madam, if you go," I replied.

"Thank you," said the lady.

"Pshaw! Alice, you'll not go into the woods on so cold a night as this!"

"Yes, I think I ought to. Our people will expect me."

* * * * * * * *

It was about an hour after nightfall when we took our way to the burial-ground. The moon had risen, but the clouds, which gathered when the sun went down, covered its face, and were fast spreading their thick, black shadows over the little collection of negro-houses. Near two new-made graves were gathered some two hundred men and women, as dark as the night that was setting around them. As we entered the circle the old preacher pointed to the seats reserved for us, and the sable crowd fell back a few paces, as if, even in the presence of death, they did not forget the difference between their race and ours.

Scattered here and there among the trees, torches of lightwood threw a wild and fitful light over the little cluster of graves, and revealed the long, straight boxes of rough pine that held the remains of the two negroes, and lit up the score of russet mounds beneath which slept the dusky kinsmen who had gone before them.

The simple head-boards that marked these humble graves chronicled no bad biography or senseless rhyme, and told no false tales of lives that had better not have been, but "Sam, age 22"; "Pompey"; "Jake's Eliza"; "Aunt Sue"; "Aunt Lucy's Tom"; "Joe"; and other like inscriptions, scratched in rough characters on those unplaned boards, were all the records there. The rude tenants had passed away and "left no sign"; their birth, their age, their deeds, were alike unknown—unknown, but not forgotten; for are they not written in the book of His remembrance—and when He counteth up his jewels, may not some of them be there?

The queer, grotesque dress, and sad, earnest looks of the black group; the red, fitful glare of the blazing pine, and the white faces of the tapped trees, gleaming through the gloom like so many sheeted-ghosts gathered to some death-carnival, made up a strange, wild scene—the strangest and the wildest I had ever witnessed.

The covers of the rude coffins were not yet nailed down, and when we arrived, the blacks were one by one passing before them, taking a last look at the faces of the dead. Soon, Junius, holding his weeping wife by the hand, approached the smaller of the two boxes, which held all that was left of their first-born. The mother kneeling by its side, kissed again and again the cold shrunken lips, and sobbed as if her heart would break; while the strong frame of the father shook convulsively, as, choking down the great sorrow which welled up in his throat, he turned away from his boy forever. As he did so, old Pompey said:

"Don't grebe, June, he'm whar de wicked cease from trubbling, whar de weary am at rest."

"I knows it; I knows it, Uncle. I knows de Lord am bery good to take 'im 'way; but why did he take de young chile, and leab de ole man har?"

"De little sapling dat grow in de shade may die while it'm young; de great tree dat grow in de sun must lib till de ax cut him down."

These words were the one drop wanting to make the great grief which was swelling in the negro's heart overflow. Giving one low, wild cry, he folded his wife in his arms, and burst into a paroxysm of tears.

"Come now, my chil'ren," said the old preacher, kneeling down, "let us pray."

The whole assemblage then knelt on the cold ground, while the old man prayed, and a more sincere, heart-touching prayer never went up from human lips to that God "who hath made of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth." Though clothed in rags, and in feeble old age, a slave, at the mercy of a cruel task-master, that old man was richer far than his master. His simple faith, which looked through the darkness surrounding him into the clear and radiant light of the unseen land, was of far more worth than all the wealth and glory of this world. I know not why it was, but as I looked at him in the dim, red light which fell on his upturned face, and cast a strange halo around his bent form, I thought of Stephen, as he gazed upward and saw heaven open, and "the Son of Man seated at the right hand of the throne of God."

Rising from his knees, the old preacher turned slowly to the black mass that encircled him, and said:

"My dear bredderin and sisters, de Lord say dat 'de dust shill return to de earth as it war, and de spirit to Him who gabe it,' and now, 'cordin' to dat text, my friends, we'm gwine to put dis dust (pointing to the two coffins) in de groun' whar it cum from, and whar it shill lay till de blessed Lord blow de great trumpet on de resumrection mornin'. De spirits of our brudders har de Lord hab already took to hisself. 'Our brudders,' I say, my chil'ren, 'case ebery one dat de Lord hab made am brudders to you and to me, whedder dey'm bad or good, white or brack.

"Dis young chile, who hab gone 'way and left his pore fader and mudder suffrin' all ober wid grief, *he* hab gone to de Lord, *shore*. *He* neber did no wrong; he allers 'beyed his massa, and he neber said no hard word, nor found no fault, not eben w'n de cruel, bad oberseer put de load so heaby on him dat it kill him. Yes, my bredderin and sisters, *he* hab gone to de Lord; gone whar dey don't work in de swamps; whar de little chil'ren don't tote de big shingles fru de water up to dar knees. No swamps am dar; no shingles am cut dar; dey don't need 'em, 'case dar hous'n haint builded wid hands, for dey'm all built by de Lord, and gib'n to de good niggers, ready-made, and for nuffin'. De Lord don't say, like as our massa do, 'Pomp, dar's de logs and de shingles' (dey'm allers pore shingles, de kine dat woant sell; but he say, '*dey'm* good 'nuff for niggers, ef de roof do leak'). De Lord doan't say: 'Now, Pomp, you go to work and build you' own house; but mine dat you does you task all de time, jess de same!' But de Lord—de bressed Lord—He say, we'n we goes up dar, 'Dar, Pomp, dar's de house dat I'se been a buildin' for you ever sence 'de foundation ob de worle.' It'm done now, and you kin cum in; your room am jess ready, and ole Sal and de chil'ren dat I tuk 'way from you eber so long ago, and dat you mourned ober and cried ober as ef you'd neber see dem agin, *dar de am, all on 'em, a waiting for you*. Dey'm been fixin' up de house 'spressly for you all dese long years, and dey'be got it all nice and comfible now.' Yas, my frens, glory be to Him, dat's what our Heabenly massa say, and who ob you wouldn't hab sich a massa as dat? a massa dat don't set you no hard tasks, and dat gibs you 'nuff to eat, and time to rest and to sing and to play. A massa dat doan't keep no Yankee oberseer to foller you 'bout wid de big free-lashed whip; but dat leads you hisself round to de green pastures and de still waters; and w'en you'm a-faint and a-tired, and can't go no furder, dat takes you up in his arms, and carries you in his bosom. What pore darky am dar dat wudn't hab sich a massa? What one ob us, eben ef we had to work so hard as we does now, wudn't tink hisself de happiest nigger in de hull worle, ef he could hab sich hous'n to lib in as dem? dem hous'n 'not made wid hands, eternal in de heabens!'

"But glory, glory to de Lord! my chil'ren, wese all got dat massa, ef we only knowed it, and he'm buildin' dem hous'n up dar, now, for ebery one ob us dat am tryin' to be good and to lub one anoder. *For ebery one of us*, I say, and we kin all git de fine hous'n ef we try.

"Recolember, too, my brudders, dat our great Massa am rich, bery rich, and He kin do all he promise. *He* won't say, w'en wese worked ober time to git some little ting to comfort de sick chile, 'I knows, Pomp, you'se done de work, and I did 'gree to gib you de pay; but de fact am, Pomp, de frost hab come so sudden dis yar, dat I'se loss de hull ob de sebenth dippin', and I'se pore, so pore, de chile must go widout dis time.' No, no, brudders, de bressed Lord He neber talk so. He neber break, 'case de sebenth dip am shet off, or 'case de price of turpentine gwo down at de Norf. He neber sell his niggers down Souf, 'case he lose his money on de hoss-race. No, my chil'ren, our Heabenly Massa am rich, rich, I say. He own all dis worle, and all de oder worles dat am shinin' up dar in de sky. He own dem all; but he tink more ob one ob you, more ob one ob you—pore, ignorant brack folks dat you am—dan ob all dem great worles! Who wouldn't belong to sich a Massa as dat? Who wouldn't be his nigger—not his slave—He don't hab no slaves—but his chile; and 'ef his chile, den his heir, de heir ob God, and de joint heir wid Christ.' O my chil'ren! tink of dat! de heir ob de Lord ob all de earth and all de sky! What white man kin be more'n dat?

"Don't none of you say you'm too wicked to be His chile; 'ca'se you an't. He lubs de wicked ones de best, 'ca'se dey need his lub de most. Yas, my brudders, eben de wickedest, ef dey's only sorry, and turn roun' and leab off dar bad ways, he lub de bery best ob all, 'ca'se he'm all lub and pity.

"Sam, har, my children, war wicked, but don't *we* pity him; don't *we* tink he had a hard time, and don't we tink de bad oberseer, who'm layin' dar in de house jess ready to gwo and answer for it—don't we tink he gabe Sam bery great probincation?"

"Dat's so," said a dozen of the auditors.

"Den don't you 'spose dat de blessed Lord know all dat, and dat He pity Sam too? If we pore sinners feel sorry for him, an't de Lord's heart bigger'n our'n, and an't he more sorry for him? Don't you tink dat ef He lub and pity de bery worse whites, dat He lub and pity pore Sam, who warn't so bery bad, arter all? Don't you tink He'll gib Sam a house? P'r'aps 'twon't be one ob de fine hous'n, but won't it be a comfible house, dat hain't no cracks, and one dat'll keep out de wind and de rain? And don't you s'pose, my chil'ren, dat it'll be big 'nuff for Jule, too—dat pore, repentin chile, whose heart am clean broke, 'ca'se she hab broughten dis on Sam—and won't de Lord—de good Lord—de tender-hearted Lord—won't he touch Sam's heart, and coax him to forgib Jule, and to take her into his house up dar? I knows he will, my chil'ren. I knows ——"

Here the old negro paused abruptly; for there was a quick swaying in the crowd—a hasty rush—a wild cry—and Sam's wife burst into the open space around the preacher, and fell at the old man's feet. Throwing her arms wildly around him, she shrieked out:

"Say dat agin, Uncle Pomp! for de lub ob de good Lord, oh! say dat agin!"

Bending down, the old man raised her gently in his arms, and folding her there, as he would have folded a child, he said, in a voice thick with emotion:

"It am so, Juley. I knows dat Sam will forgib you, and take you wid him up dar."

Fastening her arms frantically around Pompey's neck, the poor woman burst into a paroxysm of grief, while the old man's tears fell in great drops on her upturned face, and many a dark cheek near was wet, as with rain.

The scene had lasted a few minutes, and I was turning away to hide the emotion that was fast filling my eyes, and creeping up, with a choking feeling, to my throat, when the Colonel, from the farther edge of the group, called out:

"Take that d—d ——— away—take her away, Pomp!"

The old negro turned toward his master with a sad, grieved look, but gave no heed to the words.

"Take her away, some of you, I say," again cried the Colonel. "Pomp, you mustn't keep these niggers all night in the cold."

At the sound of her master's voice the woman fell to the ground as if struck by a Minie ball. Soon several negroes lifted her up to bear her away; but she struggled violently, and rent the woods with her wild cries for "one more look at Sam."

"Look at him, you d—d ———, then go, and don't let me see you again."

She threw herself on the face of the dead, and covered the cold lips with her kisses; then rose, and with a weak, uncertain step, staggered out into the darkness.

"The system" that had so seared and hardened that man's heart must have been begotten in the lowest hell.

The old preacher said no more, but four stout negro men stepped forward, nailed down the lids, and lowered the rough boxes into the ground. Turning to Madam P——, I saw her face was red with weeping. She rose to go just as the first earth f